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CRITICAL COMMENT

TOUCHING UPON THE TOPICS OF THE DAY.

Judge Wright's Decision Rendering Law Ridiculous—Lyman Abbott's Belief and Practice—Trotting Out Savings Deposits Flim-Flam.

"Somersaulting back" should have been the title of the Rev. W. C. Selleck's Providence address in which he tried to show that "the strength of the Socialist idea is in the heart, but its weakness in the head." Hitherto the clerical attitude towards Socialism was that its heart was its weak spot, seeing it was so utterly at variance with the philanthropic view that poverty should be kept up in order not to belie the Biblical prophecy, "The poor ye will ever have with ye."

As a rule, the farce follows the tragedy. It is otherwise just now. Upon the farce of Roosevelt shoveling coal for a few minutes on a battleship and thereby as proving his title to Labor,—upon that farce follows the tragedy of the Queen of Italy approving her philanthrophy by going to Messina and "help unearth the victims," actually standing in the way of those who do the work.

A conference is to be held on February 18 at the White House, having for its object the conservation of the national resources of North America. The letters of invitation, issued by the President to Mexican and Canadian officials speak of trees and rocks which are being wasted. There is not a word about the proletariat. Are these omitted because they are "supernatural resources?" Or are they omitted because too cheap to deserve notice?

It now appears that Judge Wright, who sentenced Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, is a creature of Foraker, by whose pull he was elevated to the judgeship; and that, out of gratitude to his creator, he rendered a decision intended to steep into hot water both Taft and Roosevelt, with whom the Judge's creator is not on a "pleasant footing." Not an unlikely story. Similarly, in the days that heralded in the French Revolution the Princes of Rohan and Countesses of La Motte intrigued against the court, and the court against them.

The long decision of Judge Wright, trying to prove Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison guilty, proves just one thing—that Judge Wright is ignorant of that leading maxim of jurisprudence that the Law will not render itself ridiculous. What a man has the right to think he has the right to express to a neighbor; what he has the right to express to a neighbor he has the right to express to several neighbors; what he has the right to express to several neighbors he has the right to print. If a man thinks certain goods should not be bought he has the right to express that opinion to others. Judge Wright's decision renders the Law ridiculous because it is an attempt to prevent the unpreventable. Nor is the ridiculousness of the act changed by the circumstance that the decision has the requisite physical force to—what?—to prevent the man from thinking and speaking and writing?—no, to clap them in jail! This only proves the ridiculousness of the decision all the more glaringly.

Applying to Judge Wright some of the arguments he applied to Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, the Honorable Justice should consign himself to jail, and for a term at least twice as long as the combined terms that he sentenced the three men to. Judge Wright rang the changes upon the loss to the Bucks Stove and Range Company on account of the wide advertisement given to the boycott. The advertisement now given to the boycott by Judge Wright is at least twice as wide. To every ten men who formerly abstained from patronizing the Bucks Stove Company's goods, surely twenty-five men will now keep hands off.

The Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott with his peculiar theory of immorality bears a suspiciously close resemblance to the dyspeptic druggist in Mark Twain's story who sold anti-dyspepsia pills, warranted to cure. Despite his belief in the "broader life" after death, the Rev. Abbott clings to the "narrower life" with the tenacity of a country postmaster to his job.

Not bad, this passage from the Vancouver, B. C., "Western Clarion"—The platform of the Socialist party of the United States is a ridiculous composition of inane platitudes and meaningless lucubrations that not only do not sound the revolutionary note, but so completely obscure it in the discordant jangle of blatant reforms that it is lost to the ear of the class the revolutionary movement must reach if it is to triumph. Capitalist development has long since passed the point where it is possible to fire the ardor of the wage slave by the 'sounding brass and tinkling cymbal' of reform."—Where the "Western Clarion" misses it is in imagining that the S. P. tries to "fire the ardor of the wage slave." It is after the "ardor" of the social flotsam and jetsam.

A copy of the 1908 Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist party, just received, lies open on this desk at the place where the Unity debate is reported. It is an interesting psychologic study. Not one of the large majority who spoke against Unity but unconsciously betrayed a grievance—the worst grievance a man can have—a grievance against himself—a grievance, therefore, which they frantically sought to conceal. But out it popped. One and all betrayed the fact that they were beaten in argument, and that their self-seeking betrayal of Socialism stood exposed.

The debate is doubly interesting reading now, after election, by the light of the figures that prove that, beginning with the industrial center of New York, where the S. P. vote dropped over 1,300, it fell off heavily in most all other industrial centers—and that despite an unprecedented Republican booming.

Mr. John M. O'Neill must have returned to the bottle with a vengeance. Never in a fully perpendicular posture of intelligence the Delirium Tremens of the "Miners Magazine" comes out on Dec. 24, in a fully horizontal posture—full fully so. After mentioning several of the reasons why the Debs vote is a disappointment he proceeds to say that the Socialist party, being now "acquainted with its numerical strength," its vote in 1912 "will shake the pillars of capitalism from center to circumference." Seeing that ignorance of its "real numerical strength" is not one of the causes on the list of causes given by Center-to-Circumference O'Neill for the collapse of the S. P. trouble, the conclusion that, now that the S. P. knows its "real numerical strength," it will poll a vote in 1912 that will shake from center, etc., amounts to saying that now that a man, who this year fell upon his nose in a trance of whiskey, knows the length of his mustachios, he will four years hence not fall on his own, but on other people's nose, shaking them from center, etc.

The perennial flim-flam of confusing savings banks "deposits" with "depositors," and thereby making it appear that there are vastly more depositors than there are in fact, has started anew. The public is being told that the thirty savings banks of Manhattan and the Bronx, N. Y., have 1,315,494 depositors—an evidence of the vast number of people with property. Whereas the fact is that, there being a limit to the amount that any one depositor may deposit in any one bank, the same depositor may and usually does appear in most, if not in all the thirty-two. There may be, and probably are, no more than 41,169 depositors in all; and the $781,102,290 amount of deposits, flim-flammed into looking as if spread over a million and more individuals, is, in reality, concentrated in the small number of about 40,000 folks, averaging about $18,000 a piece—an amount that obviously excludes them from the working class,—hence the flim-flam.

A smiling face for outsiders, a pain-distorted countenance for their own family circle, that is the picture presented by the Typothetae of New York City. Before election they compelled their printer employes to tramp the streets in the Taft prosperity parade. On Dec. 28 they held solemn conclave in the banquet hall of the Broadway Central Hotel for, as the invitation reads, "the purpose of considering the present unfortunate status of the printing business and possible remedies for the same."

ADDRESS

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, IN SEMI-ANNUAL SESSION CONVENED, NEW YORK, JANUARY 4TH, 1909.

To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party, to the Working Class of the land, and to all intelligent people who are honorable—

Greeting:

For the fourth time, in four successive presidential elections, the plutocratic wing of the bourgeois, or capitalist class, named Republican, has been returned triumphantly to political power—each time more triumphantly so. For the fourth time, in these four successive presidential elections, the "reform" or "radical" wing of the bourgeoisie, named Democratic, has been ignominiously routed—each time more ignominiously so, culminating with the ignonimious rout of last year.

Already in the instances of the three previous presidential elections (1896, 1900 and 1904) such was the volume of social discontent, and increasingly so, that the Democracy, from campaign to campaign, confidently expected success, and courted it with corresponding platform declarations. Last year, with an unprecedented panic still devastating the land, the expectation of success seemed proportionally better justified than ever before. Moreover, another circumstance arose, so promiseful of votes, that, this time, the Democracy made no doubt of assured triumph.

At all of the three previous presidential elections, however resonant the radical phrases employed by the Democracy, they related only to intricate economic issues—finance, the tariff, retrenchment in high offices, purity of administration, anti-imperialism. These issues were declaimed about as redounding to the interest of Labor. Yet these issues, even if they affected Labor, did so only in a remote, at best an indirect way, and none of them had proceeded from the camp of Labor itself. It was wholly otherwise last year.

From the vast camp of the Working Class itself a great issue had now sprung up.

A sword of tyranny, forged for the purposes of tyranny in the Dark Ages of Richard II.—the Injunction—had been latterly turned by the bourgeisie, generally, especially by its plutocracy, and with ever increasing swing, against the proletariat. The Injunction, wielded against the proletariat, in strike or boycott engaged, amounts to a direct intervention, to the capitalists' aid, of the whole political power of capitalism in the economic struggles between workingmen and capitalists. Galled with such treatment, the demand arose in increasing volume from the camp of Labor that the nuisance be abated.

Here was an issue indeed. It was not, as those of previous years, an issue of speculative interest to Labor, regarding the beauties of which it required to educate the workers. No. It was an issue that Labor knew all about; that itself had raised; withal, an issue that, theoretically at least, was good for votes unnumbered.

The Democracy took up the issue; embodied it in its platform; pushed it forward to a leading place; and, coupling thereto the numerous other issues raised by the harried Middle Class, confidently took the field, all the more confidently, seeing Mr. Gompers, the head of a labor organization of over one million and a half members strong, abandon his pet theory of opposition to "partisan politics" and come out flat-footed for Mr. Bryan.

Surely, goaded by the general distress of the previous year, that even spread and grew in intensity during the campaign, the workingman would seek redress by voting against the plutocracy, against the party in power, the Republican party—which arrogantly did not even pretend to hold out the prospect of relief—and solidly carry the Democracy to triumph. The size, the number, the enthusiasm of Mr. Bryan's meetings seemed to bear out the theory.

The upshot was a rout unparalleled. Mr. Bryan aptly described the impression it made upon him by pronouncing it "The mystery of 1908"; while the sentimentalist, in sight of the evidence that the Labor vote lined up substantially solid with the Republican party, wails: "The workingmen kissed the hand that smote them!"

There was no "mystery" in 1908. What happened, so far from mystifying enlightens. Nor yet was the role played by Labor the hopelessly abject one imputed to it. What happened was the illumination, under exceptional conditions, of the identical lesson preached by the three preceding presidential elections, especially those of 1896 and 1900.

For three successive presidential campaigns we had seen the working class stampeded into voting for the plutocracy upon the threat that defeat of the plutocratic candidate meant and would be followed by the shutting down of industry. The same threat was repeated in 1908 with the same result, only emphasized as never before. It is no idle threat—the plutocracy to-day have the power to carry out the threat. The very utterance of the threat is enough to terrorize the workers. Why? Because they are utterly unorganized economically in such manner and upon such principles as would enable them to resist the threat, or, at least, to insure the counting of their ballots if cast against the plutocracy. It was particularly in the industrial centers that Mr. Bryan was deserted. The obverse of this picture of political impotence was promptly furnished after election by the kindred picture of economic impotence in the sentence of Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison by Judge Wright.

Let the heart of a proletariat, thus threatened and so utterly disorganized as to be organized mainly in the craft Unions that the "Wall Street Journal" hailed as the "bulwark of American Capitalism"—let the heart of such a proletariat pant as it may after relief from the Injunction terror; let their ear be gladdened as it may with the promise of relief soon as possible after the 4th of the following March, in the event of the November triumph by the party making the promise,—yet the instinctive sense of impotence, due to the instinctive sense of being unorganized, consequently of having to starve from election to inauguration day in the event of their own political victory, and their support is assured to the plutocracy. It is assured all the more effectively seeing that, to every one proletarian employed by the radical bourgeoisie, there are hundreds employed by the plutocracy.

Let the Bryan radical bourgeois, together with the Gompers craft Union officer, or Labor "brother" of Capital, whine over working class "ignorance," as they will; denounce working class "cowardice," as they please; moan over working class "ingratitude" to their hearts' content;—the fact remains that the working class to-day is found unorganized in the economic battalions which alone will enable them to resist the shut-down threat.

Mr. Bryan was jiu-jitsued by this trick.

The plight of Mr. Bryan, together with the reason therefor, was underscored in 1908 by the plight of Mr. Debs. Prostrate beside Bryan lies Debs—likewise jiu-jitsued.

With respect to the recognition of the vital function of the economic organization of the proletariat in its political struggles, there is no difference between the Socialist and the Democratic party. Accordingly, the orators of the one party and the other, from their presidential nominees down, urged only one thing—"Vote! and Win!" No more than from the lips of Mr. Bryan, who, of course, could not urge the economic organization of Labor, did a single constructive thought upon this head drop from the lips of Mr. Debs, whose party tenets and officialdom muzzled him upon this point. As utterly blind as the Democracy to the needfulness of the economic organization, was the Socialist party. Hence, exactly as the Democracy, did the Socialist party build its expectations upon the number, the size, the enthusiasm of its meetings. Indeed, such was the blindness of the Socialist party upon this head that it fell a cruelly duped victim to the strategy of the Republican party, whose safety required the word of promise to be held to the ears of Mr. Debs—only to be broken to his heart.

We do not believe the Gompers charge that the Republican party financed the "Red Special." The identical calumny was uttered by the identical Gompers, through the identical "Federationist," against the organ of the Socialist Labor Party, the Daily People, and, therefore, against the Party itself, and has been echoed with variations by calumnious members of the Socialist party, even on the floor of their late national convention in Chicago. Although, as proved through The People, there has been corruption practiced by the Socialist party in several localities during last year's campaign, as in previous ones, we do not believe that there was any national deal with the Republicans. This notwithstanding, the fact is undeniable that the Republican, together with the covertly Taft press, reported Mr Debs's transit over the country with an enthusiasm and a zeal that were striking, to put it mildly. Republican exigencies required the move. Safe though the shut-down threat rendered Mr. Taft's candidature, the Republican party did cautiously not disdain a second string to its bow. If the plutocracy can to-day stampede the proletariat into its own political camp and thus take the bottom from under the powerful radical bourgeoisie, much less has the plutocracy to fear from the Socialist party. The booming of Mr. Debs by the press of the Republican party was fraught with no dangers to it; it only rendered assurance doubly sure by the votes such strategy might deprive Mr. Bryan of by steering them towards Mr. Debs. However obvious the strategy was to the well grounded, it made all others dizzy—with the consequence that election day brought the later's expectations down with a hard thud.

The Debs election returns are instructive. They supplement the lesson taught by the Bryan returns. They aid materialy as eye-openers.

Mr. Debs's vote last year was between 16,000 to 17,000 in excess of his vote in 1904. But even the paltriness of the "increase," after all the advertisement the Socialist party received from the plutocracy and the attention the advertisement attracted to it, tells but a small part of the tale. An examination of the details reveals the fact that the "increase" is deceptive. It conceals actual decline. Like Mr. Bryan, Mr. Debs was deserted in almost all industrial centers. Beginning with the industrial center of New York City, where the Debs vote fell off 1,300, a similar and often worse fate met it in almost all others. The Socialist party would have fallen from the ballot in Ohio were it not for the vote raked together in the rural districts—so severely was it deserted in Cleveland, Cincinnati, etc. Conspicuously so in Chicago, similarly in other industrial centers situated further west. It was the experience of Mr. Bryan over again.

No declamation enumerating wrongs, realized to be wrongs; no painting of yards of pathetic and heart-rending tales of suffering, all too true; nor making the air blue with denunciations of capitalism, even by so attractive an orator as Mr. Debs, will consolidate the ballot of the workers. All such declamation amounts to what Marx has well called it—"lampoon and lamentation." Even if supplemented with abstract Socialist economics, such declamation is barren—as far as the proletarian vote, that necessary vote, is concerned. In the absence of that economic organization—whose structure and principles alone can tonic the proletariat into political independence from the capitalist class—no amount or quality of declamation can crystallize the proletarian vote for the Social Revolution, or cause it to be counted, even if by some miracle it were so to crystallize. Enthusiasm may carry masses of men self-sacrificingly into the teeth of death on the field of battle. Enthusiasm will not resist the chill of a prospective four months' starvation between election and inauguration day,—a chill imparted by the consciousness of disorganization. Socialist sentiment does not, of itself, mean votes—at any rate not for political triumph, least ways as an annual, a biennial, or a quadriennial "step forward." That demands the proper economic organization, and the proper agitation to that end, with the alternative of despondency, despair and hopelessness—the fruitful trinity of disastrous outbreaks of blind fury.

The election returns of 1908 throw upon the social canvas the following conclusions:

1. The Republican party is in to stay. The source of its strength is that, being the principal employer of labor, it can whip the labor vote into line. This circumstance also reveals the weakness of the "G. O. P.," and whence its eventual overthrow will come—the healthily revolutionary and integrally industrial economic organization of the proletariat.

2. The Democratic party is out to stay—at least nationally. Its weakness lies in its being, relatively, a small employer of labor. Moreover, the circumstance of its being a capitalist party bars it from promoting the revolutionary economic organization of labor and thereby from availing itself of the Republican weakness.

3. The Socialist party is a diminutive Democratic party—so far as its capacity is concerned to consolidate the proletariat—hence to overthrow capitalism. The promise held out, and, no doubt, sincerely held out by its name is canceled by the pure and simple political law of its existence. The identical scare that again and again whipped Labor away from Mr. Bryan, whipped and will continue to whip Labor away from the Socialist party.

As to whether the political movement of Socialism is the more important, or the economic movement the more essential of the two, that may very well be left as a subject for the assayists. Its discussion now would serve no practical purpose. It may well be left aside as inconsequential. One thing, however, stands out clear—Under existing conditions that organization of Socialism which is bound to appear first is the political. The very nature of its mission, essentially propagandist, determines its priority. The political organization of Socialism must be the disseminator of that knowledge and information which will take organic shape in the class-conscious, industrial organisation of the working class—the foundation and structure of the Socialist Republic. Thus, although the political is the transitory, and the economic organization the permanent formation of future society, the political organization, like the scaffolding of a building, must precede the permanent structure.

Capitalism will remain invulnerable so long as it faces not a proletariat organized in a class-conscious Union. That class-conscious Union can not rise or recruit its forces without the political agitation of its kindred—a party of Socialism. Only in the measure that each may impart strength to the other can both progress. Without this acknowledged reciprocity, the economic movement will continue either as a prop to capitalism, or as a source of periodical Anarchist outbreaks—in either case a discredit and source of disaster to Labor; while the political movement will remain impotent for good to the proletariat, potent only to afford comfortable notoriety to notoriety seekers and "carrierists."

No political party deserves the name of Socialist in America that does not understand its duty and mission to be the urging into life and recruiting of the class-conscious Union, in other words, the preaching of the Social Revolution upon the civilized field of political action. No political party deserves, in America, the name of Socialist that does not buckle down to that work—the only work that capitalism dreads.

It is to that work that the Socialist Labor Party buckled down since its birth **in 1890, and** which it has **steadfastly adhered** to. Every event that has since happened but proved the Party's position true. Not the least of these proofs was a certain experience furnished during the campaign of 1908, nor is that experience the least of the tell-tale facts that the campaign threw up as food for thought:—

Taken, for a moment, off their guard, the whole capitalist press emitted a loud and prolonged growl upon the presidential nomination made by the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party—a nomination that condensed in itself the principles herein set forth. It was felt as a shot that touched the vulnerable spot in the mail of capitalism. The growl rolled from East to West and North to South, rev-

(Continued on Page 6.)

PITTSBURG WORKERS

RECEIVE WORSE THAN BARBARIAN TREATMENT.

Report of Charities and Commons Investigators Show Shocking Conditions of Overwork, Underpay, and Overcrowding—Everything A Death Menace.

A group of social workers engaged in Pittsburg making investigations for the magazine, "Charities and Commons," N. Y., reports a most barbarous state of affairs which Pittsburg workmen have to put up with the investigators have come across innumerable cases of overwork leading to accidents and deaths; and of overcrowding of houses and unsanitary conditions which keep workmen in ill health.

Paul Kellogg, for the committee, who directed the gathering of facts, sums up the results, and his statements reveal anything but a blessing to Pittsburg's producing class.

The ill reults of the working hours customary in the steel industries are clearly shown, particularly in their effect on the home life. Among the unskilled laborers the twelve-hour day is the rule, seven days in the week. It is arranged in a day shift for two weeks, a night shift for the same period, and in passing from one to the other comes the "long turn," where the man is required to do twenty-four hours straight. Of this condition a worker says: "How can any man get any pleasure out of life that way? I'm at work most of the day. I have ideas of what a home ought to be, but the way things are now I just eat and sleep here."

Hardships Leave No Time to Mourn Over Dead.

Possibly the human element is brought out most strongly in the account of Allegheny County as an "industrial slaughter house." Reckonings of the number of preventable accidents and deaths are reserved for the fuller reports, but the human side of the case is shown. "The poor," says the investigator of this topic, "do not have the luxury of grief." The widow with six children, the oldest eleven years, whose husband was killed on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and to whom the company paid only $520, did not have time for mourning, but had to go to work scrubbing at $1.21 a day.

Trouble is such a frequent visitor because of the endless accidents occurring that folks have given up all hope of regulation for protection being ever made. Death and injury are so frequent that an old steel man who had fractured his skull, lost a finger, and had a foot crushed announced that he had never "got hurt any to speak of."

Overwork Claims Victims.

In the death roll the "long turn" plays its part. Near the end of that twenty-four-hour stretch the worker is too much exhausted to be on the alert for danger. Frequently, too, his head is dizzy, his sight blurred, or his muscles too tired to respond quickly. Owing to poverty an injured laborer cannot get the best medical care, which frequently brings it about that a comparatively slight injury results in lifelong deformity.

Odds Against Worker.

With these deaths and maimings from accidents should go the deaths and injury to health from working conditions. In illustration of this is the fact that of the twenty-eight commercial laundries in Pittsburg, in two only is the washroom on the top floor. In the other twenty-six the rising steam and excessive heat tend to cause pneumonia among the employes. On this subject "Kellogg declares, "the dice are loaded in Pittsburg when it comes to a man's health."

Many workmen openly state that the churches are neglecting the real problems, and are abandoning them. "The preachers don't try to secure better conditions for the men," one of the workmen declared. "They never visit the mills and don't know anything about the conditions the men have to face.

"Let the preachers go into the mills and see the men work in the heat, an outside the mills let them notice th men with crushed hands or broke arms. If they would stop their preach ing long enough to look around a litt they might get some intelligence in them."

THE CHURCH FROM A WORKINGMANS POINT OF VIEW

By CHARLES W. WOOD, Pulpworker.

The following interesting address on "Why the Church has failed to reach the working class," was recently delivered in the Presbyterian church of Stillwater, N. Y., by Charles W. Wood, a pulpworker of the neighboring village of Mechanicville and excited great comment.

Wood said, in part:

Friends:—Anybody can knock. It takes a very ordinary supply of brains to become a critic. It takes an artisan to build; any bungler can tear down. It is one thing to make a failure; it is another to say "I told you so." I have come here to speak to you on the question of the church's failure to reach the workingmen, and this is the role of a critic. It is not a pleasant task for one who understands that constructive work is far nobler than mere destructive effort, but criticism is necessary and I shall not apologize. I am not here to discourage or taunt but simply to point out in a friendly though candid way what I, as a representative of the class you are seeking to reach, find uninviting and even repellant to the so-called church of God.

I think the church is wrong and I should be glad some other time to tell you why, but I shall say nothing about that to-night. I am to speak upon "Where the Church Has Failed" and it is beside the question to say where the church is wrong.

It isn't because I admired the workingmen that I ever went to work. It wasn't because I loved to grovel all night through the filthy, damp, stinking cellars of that pulp-mill down in Mechanicville, or because I enjoyed breaking my back and ruining my health shoveling unnumbered tons of coal into the B. & M. freight engines that I became a workingman. No, I did it for the same reason that all the other poor sinners of my class went out and begged the owners of the earth to give them a job and a chance to live on the planet—just because I had to. What's the use of wasting any taffy on us? We're not workingmen from choice. We didn't mean to do it. When you hear a political orator or a preacher address a labor meeting, and he talks about the sublime intelligence or the magnificent high-mindedness of the workingman, you can make up your mind that he has some crooked game he wants to play. Let's be decently honest about it to-night and admit in the first place that the average workingman is a workingman because he doesn't know how to be anything else; that he is as mean as a financier, as crooked as a politician and about as intelligent as a new born babe.

I have been asked the question "Why does the church fail to reach the workingmen?" Perhaps some of you think that I have answered it. You think, perhaps, that the church is pure, high-minded, noble, holy, and the working class being everything that the church is not, the church can not hope to appeal to the workingman.

But I read in this book the story of Him who was called the Son of God, the greatest mind, the strongest character, the purest mind known to history; and I read that "The common people heard him gladly." It is He whom you profess to follow, it is He whom you are supposed to represent. And yet the church to-day has to confess its failure. It receives great donations for its beautiful and costly cathedrals, for its institutions of higher education, or for its great scheme of carrying the gospel to foreign lands, but at its own door it is met with constantly accumulating evidence that the common people do not hear it gladly. How to reach the masses, is the cry of the sincere servants of Christ within the church to-day. You are supposed to be the successors of your great Master in bringing glad tiding to sinners everywhere and this cry is a confession that the successors have not succeeded. The great mass of wage slaves in America are not harder to reach than were the publicans and sinners of two thousand years ago. The reason that the church does not reach the workingmen is not altogether the workingmen's fault. There's something the matter with the church.

I am glad that your pastor asked me to tell you, from a workingman's point of view, where I think the trouble lies. I ought to be able to do it better than a minister could. It seems to me that I can be more honest than a minister can. I do not say that I am more honest; we workingmen are made out of pretty coarse clay; but I have usually noticed that a man is about as honest as he can afford to be. We wouldn't go to so much trouble to make up lies if it didn't cost us something to tell the truth. Now, it doesn't cost me anything as I have nothing to lose. It costs a minister something. I have an acquaintance in the Methodist ministry who admitted to me that he did not believe half the doctrines of the church, but he said he couldn't speak his honest mind in the pulpit as the congregation wouldn't stand for it. I wanted to know why he didn't get out of the church, but he said he thought he could do more good where he was. Incidentally, the dear brother was getting a salary of three thousand dollars a year.

The minister's hands are tied. If your minister started to "line you out" the way I am going to, you wouldn't let him preach here another week. To use a homely illustration, I remember once seeing a man with a handsaw at work pruning a tree. He was sitting on a big dead limb and was cutting off a small branch here, and a twig there, while a critical friend stood on the ground watching the job. The friend finally called up: "Why don't you cut off that big limb?" The trimmer looked down sadly and answered: "Cause that's the one I'm settin' on." I have seen ministers who are "up a tree" as clearly as that fellow was.

They know there are big dead limbs in their churches but they can't cut them off—they're "settin'" on them.

That is the first reason why the church does not reach the workingman. He doesn't believe that you are sincere. My objection to the church is not that it is wrong, but that it is so cowardly about it. You call yourself the church of the Living God and you act just like very ordinary people. The workingman can not see that you are any greater or any braver than he is. There is nothing impressive about you. You bear very little resemblance to Him whom the common people heard so gladly and whose feet the sinners kissed. You can straighten up and say: "I don't drink, I don't swear, I don't associate with bad people; and you miserable wretches ought to be able to see how good I am." But we miserable wretches look at you and see a lot of pharisees with broad phylacteries and absolutely fail to be "reached."

How then may the church reach the workingmen? Experiments are being made all over the country. The Railroad Y. M. C. A. is "feeding the brute" and watching for results. Some churches are going to all manner of extremes in furnishing entertainment for him. Workingmen like to be entertained and the advocates of this innovation are enthusiastic about the way they are nibbling the bait in some places, but to those who wish the church to be something more than a house of high-class vaudeville, the outlook is discouraging. If the problem were "How to entertain the workingman," it would be easy. But the purpose of the church is to do something more than entertain, and it must be sorry satisfaction to a disciple of Christ to get a crowd together by means of entertainment, who are willing to stomach a sermon in order to see the fun.

The church of Christ has tried almost every conceivable way of reaching the workingman excepting one. That one way it could hardly be expected to try, for it was the method that Christ employed. It was a simple method, too simple to penetrate the brains of organized orthodoxy anywhere; it consisted of reaching the sinners by mingling with them and going where the sinners were. Of course it caused criticism when he ate with publicans and sinners; the Pharisees called him a glutton and a wine bibber, they said they didn't think much of his associates and intimated that a man who was anybody wouldn't have much to do with a crowd like that. Jesus didn't stand very high socially. The first three gospels are full at the criticisms thrown at him by the nabobs of the church. But somehow, he didn't seem to care. "I am not come," He said, "to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance."

My dear churchmember: if your object in life is to get social recognition, if you are cautiously avoiding the publicans and sinners, if you are smugly satisfied with your own righteousness, if you consider yourself too good to associate with us, it is your right as an American citizen to do so. But please don't come to us with the bluff that you are a follower of Christ; for even if the bluff works it will be because we don't know anything about that real Jesus and you will not reach us.

You might ask me if I thought a follower of Christ would degrade himself and associate with sinners. Yes. You believe in a God who degraded himself and who became man for your sakes, and if you are a true follower of Christ it seems to me that you would have something to compensate you for whatever social prestige you may lose. We are told that Jesus not only associated with publicans and sinners but that he loved them. Do you love us? Of course, you don't wish us any hard luck and you hope the folks are well and you want to get our trade, but that isn't what I asked. I said "Do you love the workingmen?" If you don't, don't call yourself a disciple of Christ.

I am not sure that the church can reach the workingmen. But after its members have tried everything else, wouldn't it be a good scheme to try to be a little bit like Christ? We have a right to ask "What would Jesus do?" I suggest that you don't even try to convert us until you ask yourselves seriously whether you are real followers of Christ or just eminently respectable churchmen. You are ever so good; there's no doubt about that, but are you a follower of Christ? I was reading a story last night and it is so interesting that I am going to read it to you.

Here Wood read the story of the rich young man who came asking Jesus what he should do to become his follower. Referring to Christ's injunction, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," he added:

When a rich man who has kept all the commandments from his youth up wants to join the church to-day, do you talk like that to him? I am not a Presbyterian and I don't know, but I spent a little while—a very little while—in that wonderful monument to Methodism and Standard Oil—Syracuse University, in which Chancellor Day recently said that the trouble with America is that the workingmen are being paid too much and—well, I'll give it up. You churches can figure it out for yourselves and renew the cry, "How can we reach the masses?" If you have great possessions, if you are cherishing a nice bank account, if you are laying up for yourselves treasures on earth where moth and rust may corrupt and thieves break through and steal, I shall not be harsh with you unless you also try to guy me with the assertion that you are a follower of Christ.

These words seem rather severe, but it is time that someone should speak. Here is the church, composed of professed followers of Christ, looking at millions of us poor wretched wage slaves—lost souls who are going to Hell as fast as they can—and you wonder why we can't be decent and come to church. What do you actually care about us? We jar your nerves some and you feel that your own lives and property would be safer if we could all become good orthodox believers and quit all our dangerous habits—but what do you care about us. If your whole heart and mind become filled with the Christ-love which will enable you to love us in our baseness and our sin as Jesus did, we'll know it. We won't run away from you and we won't stand off and think up lies about you then.

And we won't crucify you. Publicans and sinners don't do things like that. That is the function of established orthodoxy; it is the work of the "eminent respectable" to kill the man who tells the truth. There is little difference from my point of view between the great mass of wage slaves of to-day and publicans and sinners of two thousand years ago, and I can see but little difference between the established orthodox church of both ages. The scribes and pharisees of old thought they were about right and thanked God for it. You've been in the habit of thinking of them as a class that was, and you are horrified to think that they should kill the pure and perfect Teacher. But what would the church to-day do with a preacher who would preach like Jesus did?

Did you ever read one of his sermons seriously? Some of you are annoyed at the plain way in which I have spoken, but let me read an account of one of the addresses which Jesus gave. Take this one, for instance, in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew.

(Wood read the chapter.)

That is what Jesus thought of the orthodox church of his day. "And the common people heard him gladly." What would he think about the orthodox church of to-day? And what would the orthodox church do to him? They wouldn't crucify him—they'd simply starve him to death. You know very well that the church would not stand for such denunciations and Jesus would come out with us publicans and sinners. He would "reach the masses." That is the only answer I have to the question of how to reach the wrokingmen, the great mass of outsiders, to-day. Just be like Christ and it will not be long before you will reach the great outside with us. For if you don't come out, you'll be thrown out.

Friends, I have tried to be honest with you. I haven't time to tell any lies. There is no reason why I should. This is your problem and not mine. I am not of the church and I am here only as a representative of that great outside which you profess to want to reach. We are vile sinners and ignorant ones at that. We don't know enough to criticize your creeds, but we know that to reach us you must be of us. We have nothing in common with a church that caters to the master class, the respectable capitalists whose slaves we are. When such a church comes to us, most of us dodge and run away. Personally, I would rather face the issue squarely, look you straight in the eye and ask you how I am to know that you are followers of Christ. I sincerely believe that when your faith in Christ becomes stronger than your faith in conventional goodness, when you come to care as little for the treasures of this world as He did who had not where to lay his head, that you wil then have a message which I and the others of my class will hear gladly. — Mevhanicville, N. Y., "Hudson Valley Times."

THOUGHTS AND THINGS

By H. S. K.

"Thus runs the Law, and the Law shall
run till the Earth in its Course
is still.
And the Ages hurrying one by one,
the Cup of time shall fill.
That whoso eateth another's Bread
shall do that other's Will."

We are eating our Own Bread, Mr. Capitalist, and we are, at present, doing Your Will, but as sure as we are now eating our own bread—just so sure shall we yet do our Own Will.

To any capitalist, query: Kindly tell us what earthly use there is of you?

We have heard of capitalists "working," "risking," etc., etc. Well, on the same principle a pickpocket may be said to "work"; and of course a pirate "works," and takes considerable "risk"; and accordingly, a forger must also be a "worker."

All of which means that there is "work" and Work. The capitalist does no manner of useful Work. His "work" is like that of the pirate, the forger and the pickpocket. It consists in scheming, cheating, and trickery, to transfer to his own pocket the wealth created by the productive work of others.

The workers Work. They do all the needed thinking, and produce all the things that humanity needs. Once freed from capitalism their Work will make possible all that civilized man aspires to.

Whence come profits? A very important piece of knowledge this to get into the heads of workingmen. Profits are that portion of the production of labor that is withheld by the capitalist. Any workingman can be made to see that he does not begin to get, in wages, value equal to that which he has produced.

Make this plain, and you will save the worker from acting as a catspaw for any absurd movement that promises to better his condition by nowling about the "extortionate prices" charged for goods.

"Competition is the life of trade." What has become of that old "truism"? Gone where the woodbine twineth. All occasion for its use has disappeared.

Beneficent trustification, or some such phrase, has taken its place. The language, past and present, of capitalism, is eloquent of its development.

Until the working class organize to bring it about Socialism will remain a beautiful dream, like the New Jerusalem. Capitalism, however, is forcing the necessity of Socialism upon the workers. Educate and organize!

The old bridges, economic and political, must be burned behind us. The craft union, and the old parties have nothing to offer us, can do nothing for us. They are part and parcel of the system that oppresses us.

Spread the light! Correct political and economic organization will follow.

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ENGAGED IN WARFARE

The S. L. P. and Its Press Not for Slippered Ease, but for Militant Propaganda.

The Socialist Labor Party and its press are often found fault with on the score that they "attack" those whom they should enlist as friends.

It certainly would be a short-sighted policy for the S. L. P. to wantonly attack any whom it could enlist as friend. Does it do so? Let us see.

First let us try and pin down Mr. Objector to give an instance of "attack" that bears out what he has in mind. Oh, well, he has no particular instance in mind, but he has noticed, he says, The People is always knocking the unions, calling the union men fakirs, and so on. Can he bring such a thing, black upon white, from The People—"Well, you know you are against the unions," is his answer.

Now what does such an objection, when made by an honest person, mean? It means either that the said person cannot discriminate between "attack" and attack, or that he allows himself to be stuffed.

Here, for instance, is "P. D." writing in the "Iron Molders' Journal," on the importance of the unity of organized labor, in which he speaks of capital and labor as twin brothers, equally necessary and each justly entitled to its fair share, etc.

Now, then, let an S. L. P. man, or be it The People, rise to remark that the profits on which the capitalist lives, and the wages on which the worker starves, are both the product of the worker's toil; that no "division," doing justice to both, is possible, and that instead of a "harmony of interest" there is an irrepressible conflict between the two, which makes necessary the unions—molders' unions among them. Let him go on to amplify this by showing that instead of capitalist and worker getting together as mutually interested parties, that the worker starts in the condition of a slave—forced to submit to being plundered of what he produces save the barest necessities of life. Then let him ask how any sane man, with the power to reason, can fail to come to the conclusion that either "P. D." does not know what he is talking about or, if he does know that then he is trying to befuddle his readers.

Poor Mr. Objector, his knees knocking together as you wax indignant upon the subject, will very likely say: "Yes, yes, you are right, but don't be too hard on them." All very good, but how about the "P. D.'s," whose ignorance or duplicity you have shown up? From them you receive the gratitude that is expressed in the words "disrupter," "union wrecker," etc.

Another fault-finder of the S. L. P. and The People is Mr. S. P. "Preach Socialism, attack capitalism, don't attack the S. P.," is his usual cry.

Does the S. L. P. attack the S. P.? No, it does not. It does show up S. P. departure from Marxian Socialism; it does criticize S. P. truckling to the capitalist class. And the watchful eye of the S. L. P. and The People is having good effect upon the S. P., helps keep it clean. In the recent campaign, a Hudson County, N. J., S. P. man accepted a nomination on a citizens, or taxpayers', ticket. The S. P. county committee was called together in a hurry, the man repudiated and literature against him put out. My S. P. informant gave the credit to the S. L. P., and said that they were learning discipline and tactics from The People.

Another set of persons who find fault with The People are the freaks and crooks, who get into the Party and don't care to have the light turned upon them and their doings. "Keep internal Party matters out of the Party press; it frightens away possible recruits," is their slogan. Such reasoning is silly on the face of it, for if the mere printing of internal matters would scare away recruits, would not new adherents be stampeded when brought face to face with "internal disturbances"?

The writer would say that in his case it was the very setting forth of internal matters that attracted him to the S. L. P., and a diligent reading of The People prepared him for at once falling in line with S. L. P. methods.

What is The People? It is not a monthly magazine for abstract philosophy. It is not for entertainment with pipe and easy chair. No; it is a weapon. A weapon for concrete warfare. In its sphere it calls a spade a spade; and the acts of fools it calls folly.

Do fakirs ride the rank and file of the unions? Then their fakirism will be shown up, and the fakirs denounced.

Does the S. P. log-roll with the parties of capitalism, do its advocates talk of buying out the capitalists, then all such will be proven to have no place in Socialism.

It is useless to denounce capitalism and wink at the unionist who upholds capitalism, or at the "Socialist" who dickers with capitalism.

The S. L. P. and The People—scourge to the capitalist class and the outposts it keeps up—Staff, shield and beacon to the working class. Three cheers for the S. L. P.

J. H.

EIGHT HOURS IN AUSTRALIA

SUPPOSED LAW HAS VERY LITTLE FORCE—A RECENT PARADE SHOWS IMPOTENCE OF OLD STYLE UNIONS.

(Special Correspondence.

Brisbane, New South Wales, December 10.—In spite of the supposed eight-hour law here, the eight-hour day is not universal in Australia; only a section of the workers enjoy it. Thousands work any hours the bosses provide for. Little children in the country districts of New South Wales have only four hours' sleep and their little lives ground out of them for profits.

At Sydney an eight-hour day parade was held recently. The following cutting from a Sydney daily, describing the procession, is pathetic, no matter how one may look at it:

"As usual the bakers were well to the front in merit. Six horses drew a model bakery on one lorry, which was coupled to another bearing a trough and working bench. Here bakers were at work kneading dough and fashioning buns and rolls, while the oven was looked after by other operatives. Another lorry carried a lot of youngsters, clothed in bakers' aprons and caps. The side of the vehicle bore the announcement, 'Our Fathers are Trade Unionists.' A model baker's drawn by small boys bore the appeal 'Assist our Dads to get a day's work.' As a contrast ,there followed, after the long line of operatives who, clothed in white, marched carrying fancy bread of artistic design a shabby turn-out with a label stating, 'Loyalists, and not Unionists, employed at this bakery.'"

Logical enough! A true picture of the hopelessness of craft methods and the enslavement of the wage workers. The bakers bake our daily bread, the bosses own the bread and sell it at a profit. "Help our Dads to get a day's work." Just think of it!

Altogether the parade, despite the emblems and symbols, was not inspiring by any means. From a Socialist viewpoint it appeared as sections of an army undecided where its goal lay and whither it was marching. True, the strains of music enlivened the march at intervals and broke the monotony of the uneven tramp of the marchers. There was an entire absence of that spirit which characterized the eight-hour parades before the workers manacled themselves to a capitalist Arbitration Court and an Industrial Disputes Act; in short, legalized their own slavery.

Some of the unions were rather unfortunate with their banners, a stiff southerly blowing a number into ribbons. Among them were some beautiful and costly specimens of the decorator's skill. But remorseless nature displayed no regard to either beauty or cost!

However, the time is at no great distance when the craft parade of wage-slaves, with the borrowed plumage and symbols of the master class, will be but one of the many things that belong to an unenlightened past. In the days that are to come the demonstrations of the working class will not be the spiritless march of bodies of men commemorating an "eight-hour day," and their own enslavement, but the spirited march of men and women with an object in life, a goal to win—the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of Socialism. Instead of demonstrating its loyalty to the system that causes little children to appeal to the mass of sightseers to "Assist our Dads to get a day's work," the Industrial Unionists will demonstrate their hope, strength and determination to put an end to poverty and starvation; and this to the consternation and not the joy of the capitalist working class.

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Eugene Sue wrote a romance which seems to have disappeared in a curious fashion, called "Les Mysteres du Peuple." It is the story of a Gallic family through the ages, told in successive episodes, and, so far as we have been able to read it, is fully as interesting as "The Wandering Jew" or "The Mysteries of Paris." The French edition is pretty hard to find, and only parts have been translated into English. We don't know the reason. One medieval episode, telling of the struggle of the communes for freedom is now translated by Mr. Daniel De Leon, under the title, "The Pilgrim's Shell" (New York Labor News Co.). We trust the success of his effort may be such as to lead him to translate the rest of the romance. It will be the first time the feat has been done in English.—N. Y. Sun.

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"LEVELING DOWN"

A CHARGE FLUNG AT SOCIALISM BUT REALLY TRUE OF CAPITALISM.

Next to the thought of "division," that of "equal shares" troubles the foes of Socialism most. "Socialism" they declare, "proposes that every one shall have an equal share of the total product; the industrious is to have no more than the lazy; hard and disagreeable labor is to receive no higher reward than that which is light and agreeable; the hod-carrier who has nothing to do but to reach out the material is to be on a par with the architect himself; under such circumstances every one will work as little as possible; no one will perform the hard and disagreeable tasks; knowledge having ceased to be appreciated, will cease to be cultivated; and the final result will be the relapse of society into barbarism; consequently, Socialism is impracticable."

Capitalism Lowers Incomes.

By dissolving the middle classes of society and swelling evermore the size of individual fortunes the capitalist system broadens and deepens perceptibly the chasm that exists between the masses of the population, and those who are at its head; the latter tower ever higher above the former and become less and less approachable to them.

Hand in hand with this tendency is noticed another, which, operating within the circle of the masses themselves, steadily equalizes their respective incomes; it flings the small producers, farmers and manufacturers into the class of the proletariat, or at least pushes their incomes down to the proletarian level, and wipes out existing differences between the proletarians themselves. The machine tends steadily to the removal of all the differences which originally took root among the proletariat; to-day, the differences in wages among the various layers of labor fluctuate incessantly and come nearer and nearer to a point of uniformity; at the same time the incomes of the educated proletariat are irresistibly tending downwards. The equalization of incomes among the masses—that thing at which the adversaries of Socialism affect to be shocked, and which they brand with moral indignation as the malignant purpose of Socialism—is going on under their own eyes, and is the result of their own precious system.

Capitalist "Equalization" vs. Socialist Equalization.

As a matter of course, all these tendencies that sharpen inequalities, and that proceed from the private ownership in the means of production, would come to an end, while the tendency to wipe out inequalities of incomes would find stronger expression, under the Socialist system. But here, again, the observations made upon the dissolution of existing family forms and upon the downfall of small production hold good with equal force; the tendency of the economic development remains in Socialist, to a certain extent the same as in capitalist society, but it finds expression in a very different way. To-day, the equalization of incomes among the masses of the population proceeds by the depression of the higher incomes to the level of the lower ones; in a Socialist Commonwealth it must inevitably proceed by the raising of the lower to the standard of the higher.

The adversaries of Socialism seek to frighten the small producers with the claim that an equalization of incomes can mean for them nothing else than the lowering of their conditions, because, say they, the incomes of the wealthy classes are not large enough, if divided among the poor, to preserve the present average income of the middle classes; that, consequently, if there is to be equality of incomes, the middle classes will have to give up part of their incomes and would by so much be the losers under Socialism.

There is, however, no question about "division;" the only question is upon the change of the method of production. The transformation of the capitalist system of production into the Socialist system of production must inevitably result in a rapid increase of the quantity of wealth produced yearly.

It must never be lost sight of that the capitalist system of production for sale hinders to-day the economic development, hinders the full expansion of the productive forces that lie latent in society. Not only is it not able to absorb the small industries in the measure in which the technical development makes possible and requires; it has become even impossible for it to employ all the labor forces that are available. The capitalist system of production squanders these forces in that it steadily drives an increasing quantity thereof into the ranks of the unemployed, the slums, parasites, and the unproductive middlemen.

Such a state of things is simply impossible in a Socialist Commonwealth; it could not fail to find productive labor for all its available labor forces; it would increase perceptibly, nay, it would double the number of productive workers; in the measure in which it did this it would multiply the total wealth produced yearly. This increase in production would be enough in itself to raise the incomes of all workers, and not only those of the poorest ones.

Socialism Raises Well Being.

Furthermore, Socialist production would greatly promote the absorption of small production by large production, and thereby also increase greatly the productivity of labor; it would then be possible not only to raise the incomes of the workers, but also to shorten the hours of work.

In view of this the claim is puerile that Socialism means the equality of pauperism. This is not the equality towards which Socialism tends; it is the equality into which the modern system of production drives mankind. Socialist production must inevitably improve the conditions of all working classes—those of the small producer and small working farmer included. According to the economic conditions under which the change from capitalism to Socialism may be effected, will the improved general wellbeing of the community be greater or less; but whatever those conditions may be, the progress will be marked. And from that point on every further economic development will, instead of lowering, as it does to-day, raise the general wellbeing of the commonwealth.

This turn in the direction of the course generally taken by incomes is, in the eyes of Socialists, of much more importance to the wellbeing of society than the absolute increase of incomes. The thoughtful man lives more in the future than in the present; what the future threatens or promises to him preoccupies him more than the enjoyment of the present. Not what is, but what will be, not existing conditions, but tendencies, determine the happiness or the unhappiness both of individuals and of whole states.

Removes the Fear of Want.

Thus we become acquainted with another element of superiority in Socialist over capitalist society. It affords not only an improved condition of wellbeing, but also the certainty of livelihood—a certainty not afforded to-day by the largest fortune. If the improvement of wellbeing can be appreciated, mainly, if not only, by the classes that hitherto have been exploited, the certainty of a livelihood is a boon to the exploiters themselves; to those whose wellbeing needs no improvement even where such might be possible. Uncertainty hovers over both the rich and the poor, and possibly it is more trying than want itself; it causes even those to taste the bitterness of want who are not yet subject to it; it is a spectre that haunts the most luxurious homes.—Kautsky.

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MANIFESTO

Of the Socialist Women of Greater New York to Their Sisters In Shop, Mill, and Household.

Woman has always played an important part in history. But never before was woman so important a factor as she is in the society of to-day. The working and wage earning woman, like the man wage earner, is the victim of the present system of gigantic privately-owned machinery, which system we call Capitalism.

As industries developed, and were more and more taken out of the home where woman was the superior, woman also found herself dragged out of the home in order to make a living. In some way or other she must now earn her bread outside. Though at first it may seem strange to us that there are five million women wage workers in America, yet such is the fact. And the cause of it is not far to seek.

The introduction of the steam engine, power loom, and other vast machines has brought about the greatest change in the history of large industries. Now, largely speaking, no one individual can work alone or own his own tool. All men are interdependent, and all are dependent upon the man who owns the tool or mechanism necessary for producing goods.

Society is thus separated into two classes. On one side are the owners of the large tools of production, called Capitalists; on the other are the tool-less and therefore propertiless wage earners, called the Working Class, or the wage slaves. The capitalists cannot live unless the wage slaves work for them. At the same time they have so seized hold of the instruments of production that the wage slaves cannot live unless the capitalists let them work. That is why they are called wage slaves.

Of course there is a struggle between the wage slaves for this chance to work at the capitalist's machine and get a living. This competition reduces wages, which are simply the price of the wage workers' labor power.

A wonderful change came over the condition of woman as a result of this. For countless ages she had toiled and drudged along together with struggling humanity in its upward course toward the conquest of nature. She bore the hardest share in this titanic struggle. But it was always in the narrow circle of household drudgery.

Now, however, as the genius of humanity triumphed over nature, as immense forces were harnessed in modern machinery, and as the wage slave class was created, man, the erstwhile supporter of the family could no longer provide for his wife and children. Therefore wife and even children had to follow him into the factory or the office. In other words, they, too, became merchandise upon the labor market.

We have to-day as the consequence 5,000,000 of our sisters and over 2,000,000 little children in the wage earning class, slaving away in the American mills and factories.

These numbers are rapidly increasing, apace with improvements in the methods of production. This seems contradictory, but it is so; because it is the nature of capitalism that a few individuals, through their ownership of the means whereby a whole nation lives, are the only ones to benefit by the progress of civilization. The tool-less workers are excluded from its benefits.

Capitalism has thus forced the workingman to ever lower and lower conditions. But it has placed the woman on the same level. The workingman and the workingwoman to-day are equals. Their interests are identical. They have one struggle, one hope, one purpose, and that is the abolition of a system under which the means of production are owned and controlled privately. Their common effort is to substitute a system which shall make it impossible for one man or woman to exploit and rob another of the fruit of his or her labor, a system under which the means of production shall be owned collectively, thereby affording every one a share of the progress of humanity;—that is the mission of the workers, women and men.

Those who would be free themselves must strike the blow. Taking a leaf out of the workingman's history, the workingwoman must recognize the importance of educating and organizing her sisters for the purpose of their own emancipation.

The clamor for justice, the healthy outburst of enthusiasm for Woman Suffrage in this country, will, certainly do much to help our cause. It will arouse the working women and get them interested, thus paving the way for the gospel of Socialism. We, as Socialists, greet the Woman Suffrage movement with warmth and welcome, though we do not believe the ballot alone can or ever will emancipate mankind.

The ballot is efficient only when backed by economic power. That is why the capitalists who control the economic field can always find protection and legalize their deeds by the power of the ballot. The revolution which gave the ballot to the male proletariat was the revolution which established the rising capitalist class in power. The granting of the ballot to women will only be another incident in that revolution. It will not lighten the hardships of the working woman in the slightest. All during the last century, the working men had the ballot, and used it at every election; yet their economic condition grew steadily worse. It is foolish to hope that the granting of the ballot will be any more effective in the case of woman.

The vote is powerless without the economic power to back it up. Any permanent betterment of woman's conditions must come from the united movement on the political and economic fields together.

We, the Socialist Women of Greater New York, hold that the private control of the means of life is at the bottom of all the social wrongs and evils and inequalities in existence. Therefore we hold that private control of these means of life must be stopped, and collective ownership and control substituted. We hold that the control and ownership over these means of production must be restored to their rightful owners, those who produced and created them, the working class. Then production will be carried on for use, not for profit.

We furthermore hold that the present government or political state is only a committee of the capitalist class organized for the purpose of perpetuating and legalizing the robbery of the surplus value produced by the men, women and children of the working class.

We furthermore hold that the destructive action of failures and crisis, which are part of the nature of capitalism, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of the Trust and other great capitalist combinations, on the other, sound the warning and point the way for the future society. They show that necessity of the Industrial State, where all collectively will own the tools of production, and all will in consequence receive the full value of their toil.

We furthermore hold that to reach this State we need both the ballot and the industrially organized economic organization. The first is necessary to legally record our will that the tools of production be taken over by the workers. The second is necessary to effectively put that legally recorded will into execution by taking control. The capitalists will never voluntarily give up their power just because they are asked through the ballot box to do so.

The Socialist Labor Party being the only party in existence to-day which stands upon these principles, we, the Socialist Women of Greater New York, do adopt the Socialist Labor Party Platform, and pledge ourselves to do all in our power for the welfare of the Party and the assurance of its victory.

We realize that woman to-day is being forced by the same economic conditions which bear upon men, to take up the fight for self-preservation and final emancipation. Hence we make it our aim to convey to our sisters the needed knowledge and insight into Capitalism, and the necessary knowledge and information on the subject of Socialism, to prepare them for taking an active part in this growing movement.

For the purpose of spreading Socialist thought and knowledge among women, we, the Socialist Women of Greater New York, organized on October 27, 1906. We call upon all women wage earners and all sincere and intelligent women everywhere, to aid in this work of arousing our sisters to a sense of their duty towards themselves, their class, and the whole human race. Through great efforts we have been enabled to get out our own literature, which is now ready to be taken up by all those interested in the cause of human liberty.

Come along, sisters! Join the Socialist Women of Greater New York. Study our literature and that of the Socialist Labor Party. Let us spread the message of Socialism far and wide. Let the unhappy wage slaves be taught the gospel of Love, Liberty, and Fraternity.

Study, think and organize for Socialism.

SARAH ROSENTHAL,
MARY SOLOMON,
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NOBILITY, BOURGEOISIE, WORKING CLASS

THE SECOND SUPERSEDED THE FIRST, ONLY TO BE SUPERSEDED IN TURN BY THE THIRD.

In France and America, the successors of the bourgeoisie, the working people, are already knocking at the door. In England, the bourgeoisie never held undivided sway. Even the victory of 1832 left the landed aristocracy in almost exclusive possession of all the leading Government offices. The meekness with which the wealthy middle class submitted to this, remained inconceivable to me until the great Liberal manufacturer, Mr. W. A. Forster, in a public speech implored the young men of Bradford to learn French, as a means to get on in the world, and quoted from his own experience how sheepish he looked when, as a Cabinet Minister, he had to move in society where French was, at least, as necessary as English! The fact was, the English middle class of that time were, as a rule, quite uneducated upstarts, and could not help leaving to the aristocracy those superior Government places where other qualifications were required than mere insular narrowness and insular conceit, seasoned by business sharpness. Even now the endless newspaper debates about middle class education show that the English middle class does not yet consider itself good enough for the best education, and looks to something more modest. Thus, even after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, it appeared a matter of course, that the men who had carried the day, the Cobdens, Brights, Forsters, etc., should remain excluded from a share in the official government of the country, until twenty years afterwards, a new Reform Act opened to them the door of the Cabinet. The English bourgeoisie are, up to the present day, so deeply penetrated by a sense of their social inferiority that they keep up, at their own expense and that of the nation, an ornamental caste of drones to represent the nation worthily at all state functions; and they consider themselves highly honored whenever one of themselves is found worthy of admission into this slect and privileged body, manufactured, after all, by themselves.

The industrial and commercial middle class had, therefore, not yet succeeded in driving the landed aristocracy completely from political power when another competitor, the working class, appeared on the stage. The reaction after the Chartist movement and the Continental revolutions, as well as the unparalleled extension of English trade from 1848 to 1866 (ascribed vulgarly to Free Trade alone, but due far more to the colossal development of railways, ocean steamers, and means of intercourse generally), had again driven the working class into the dependency of the Liberal party, of which they formed, as in pre-Chartist times, the Radical wing. Their claims to the franchise, however, gradually became irresistible; while the Whig leaders of the Liberals "funked," Disraeli showed his superiority by making the Tories seize the favorable moment and introduce household suffrage in the boroughs, along with a re-distribution of seats. Then followed the ballot; then in 1884 the extension of household suffrage to the counties and a fresh re-distribution of seats, by which electoral districts were to some extent equalized.

All these measures considerably increased the electoral power of the working class, so much so that in at least one hundred and fifty to two hundred constituencies that class now furnishes the majority of voters. But parliamentary government is a capital school for teaching respect for tradition; if the middle class look with awe and veneration upon what Lord John Manners playfully called "our old nobility," the mass of the working people then looked up with respect and deference to what used to be designated as "their betters," the middle class. Indeed, the British workmen, some fifteen years ago, was the model workman, whose respectful regard for the position of his master, and whose self-restraining modesty in claiming rights for himself, consoled our German economists of the Katheder-Socialist school for the incurable communistic and revolutionary tendencies of their own workingmen at home.—From "Historical Materialism," by Frederick Engels.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 883 McAllister street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading room at 317 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings. fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Wednesday and Sunday. Open every Hungarian educational meetings every

Headquarters Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 1366 Ontario avenue, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and night.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters, 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month.

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Chicago, Illinois. — The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, at Friedmann's Hall, s.-e. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women cordially invited.

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Section Salt Lake, Utah, meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., Rooms 4 and 5, Galena Block, 69 East 2nd So. street. Free reading room. Weekly People readers invited.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

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Subscribers will begin to get the paper regularly in two weeks from the date when their subscriptions are sent in.

SATURDAY, JANURY 9, 1909.

> **A superannuated System of Society, decrepit with toils; and with thefts and brawls, named glorious-victories; and with profligacies, sensualities, and on the whole with dotage and senility,—is now to die: and so, with death-throes and birth-throes a new one is to be born.**
>
> **—CARLYLE.**

CAPITALISM=BLACKMAIL.

Advance extracts of Andrew Carnegie's much advertised article in the "World's Work" on profit-sharing as "the final and enduring solution of the labor question," contain matter enough to demonstrate the thesis that capitalism is but a modern and international application of the old and Scotch practice of blackmail.

Says Carnegie of the workingman and the capitalist: "each is indispensable."

Who is workingman? He who works: he with whom a leading feature is that one of the things that are requisite to production, labor-power, is part and parcel of his anatomy. No workingman, no labor-power; no labor-power, no working man. Obviously, the workingman IS "indispensable."

What about the capitalist? Who is he? Which of the things that are requisite to production does he contribute? The plant or machinery of production. Is that part and parcel of his anatomy? Not in the least. The machinery of production is something separate and apart from the capitalist. It is like the crown on a king's head. There can be a crown without a king, and the anatomic entity king without a crown. Europe, for instance, has several of the former in its museums, and keeps not a few of the latter in its fashionable watering places. Exactly so with the capitalist. There can be the anatomic entity of a "capitalist" without "capital"; and there can be the plant of production without the "capitalist." Equally obvious, therefore, the anatomic entity capitalist is NOT "indispensable."

In view of the physical fact that the anatomic entity workingman is indispensable, and the anatomic entity capitalist is not, and yet production cannot be carried on to-day without the co-operation of both, Mr. Carnegie's readers have a poser placed before them—how comes it that a thing, wholly dispensable, like the anatomic entity capitalist, can at all be "INdispensable"?

The Scotch nativity of the presenter of the poser helps to solve the riddle.

Blackmail was not originally what it is to-day. Originally "black-mail" was the payment in kind (not in cash, hence the name,) received by some Scotch highlanders for the service of rounding up cattle that had strayed, or been stolen. Gradually the payment became extortion. When no cattle strayed away or was stolen, the blackmailers themselves stole or drove cattle astray, thereby furnishing themselves occupation. The cattle being absent from where it should be, the black-mailer was hired, had to be hired, and he did his work—rounded up and found the cattle he had himself driven off. Given the conditions under which black-mailing was possible, the black-mailer became "INdispensable."

Ditto, ditto with the capitalist.

Capitalism is the modern adaptation of the old Scotch system of "blackmail." The capitalist is the modern manifestation of the old Scotch "black-mailer." Only in the sense that the old Scotch "black-mailer" was indispensable is his modern avatar also "indispensable." As conditions changed in Scotland, so that the one-time indispensable blackmailer could be and was gladly dispensed with, so will improved modern conditions wipe out the "indispensability" of the capitalist—and allow society to move on unencumbered by its present breed of blackmailers.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

PRESBYTERIANS IN FULL RETREAT.

The most rigid of all Presbyterian organizations is the United Presbyterian Church. With this organization it has been a rule, strictly enforced, that no person could be received into membership without assenting to a covenant which bound him to observe family worship "unless providentially hindered." Now, the "Book of Government," pending before the United Presbyterian Church, is to be revised, and the committee on revision recommends the omission of this stipulation of family worship.

The New York "Christian Intelligencer," commenting on this new departure states that the "gradually changing social and commercial conditions during the last half century have rendered it well nigh impossible for many families residing in hustling cities and their suburbs to keep up the religious custom of family worship morning and evening." and it joins the committee in the belief that the old stipulation should be omitted "for reasons which seem to us positively sane and convincing."

Judging these folks by their own notions of "God," "morality" and "religion," what is their posture?

Socialists have, with facts innumerable asserted that the religion of the capitalist class has the God Capital for their deity—and none other beside Him. The recommendation of the committee on revision of the "Book of Government" of the United Presbyterian Church, together with the approving words of the "Christian Intelligencer," furnishes the latest and a powerful corroborative proof.

"Unless providentially hindered" family worship was to be held morning and evening. The old Providence is now substituted by another Providence—the Providence that presides over "commercial conditions" and that generates "hustling cities and their suburbs." The old fundamental principle remains—there shall be family worship "unless providentially hindered." The new Providence, the God Capital, hinders. Consequently the requirement of family worship goes by the board, in worshipful obedience to the will of Him whom capitalism worships.

Judging these folks by their own tenets of "God," "morality" and "religion," what is their posture? Is it a posture of resistance to evil, according to their own notions of "religion," "morality" and "God"?—It is the posture of people in full retreat.

GOMPERS AT THE FORKING OF THE ROAD.

From many sides, and in increasing volume, the suggestion is rising that Gompers "purge himself of contempt," whereupon "Executive clemency" may be bestowed upon him.

All that was wanting to draw sharply the line of the road, already amply drawn by Judge Wright's decision, and which now spreads before Gompers, are these suggestions of "purging" and of "Executive clemency."

As stated in the Article of Gilhaus, the Socialist Labor Party candidate for President, published in the "Independent" during the campaign, and reproduced in these columns, "a union that cannot strike or boycott is a weak scarecrow on which the capitalist buzzards may safely roost; it is a fortress without weapons, its walls a hollow mockery."

The S. L. P. has uniformly condemned Gomper's policy of presenting Organized Labor in the attitude of leaning upon the capitalist class—of leaning upon the capitalist class economically by preaching the theory of the "Brotherhood of Capitalist and Labor," and of leaning upon the capitalist class politically by ever endorsing its political candidates, and never standing upon its own feet. Such Organized Labor, the S. L. P. has uniformly pointed out was not a prop to the proletariat, it could only be a prop to capitalism.

The sentence of Judge Wright, supplemented by the insiduous whisperings about "purging" and "Executive clemency," pushes Gompers to the very point where the roads fork.

Error, false premises and their litter of false conclusions need not necessarily imply dishonesty. It may be lack of information. While lack of information on Labor issues is unpardonable with a Labor Leader, it is also true that some people's skull is so hard that nothing short of a surgical operation will open a passage for information to enter. Judge Wright's sentence was such a surgical operation.

The forking road before which Gompers now stands leads, on the left, to unquestionable betrayal of the proletariat, and that means self-defilement; on the right, at least to the maintenance of what civilization we have reached, and which is essential for all further progress.

For Gompers to "purge" himself means to endorse, officially endorse, the long string of uncivilized principles that Judge Wright's decision is a reverting to. It means the legislation of "Court-made Law;" it means the legislation of "ex post facto law." It means the abandonment of solid ground gained by civilization.

Which road will Gompers strike? Will he take the road that will prove that the worst that was ever said and thought of him was not half as bad as he deserved? Will he take the road that will justify the conclusion that he hitherto erred unintentionally, and that there is yet hope in him?

MR. AVERILL ONCE MORE.

Last week The People exposed the fatalism involved in Mr. Albert E. Averill's false conception of sociology, and thus turned his erring article in the "International Socialist Review" to the only useful purpose such productions can be turned to—the foil of error wherewith to contrast, and thereby prove verity. The gentlemen's identical article may be put to the same profitable use by exposing its tanglefoot reasoning, and the place such sort of reasoning occupies in the discussion at present going on with regard to the tactics of the Socialist or labor movement.

Mr. Averill says: "The capitalist, because of his possession of the means of production, controls the social labor power of the working class."

With this principle Socialist science can find no fault. It is a principle fundamental with Socialism—the possession of the means of production is the source of capitalist rule. So far, so good.

Immediately, however, after the above passage, without a paragraph, or even a sentence behind which to shelter one's surprise, Mr. Averill proceeds to say:

"The control of the social labor power of the working class, or proletariat, is the source of all economic or political power."

This passage is at fisticuffs with the first. If indeed the control of the social labor power of the workers is the source of all economic or political power, then the possession of the means of production by the capitalist cannot be what gives him control of the social labor power of the proletariat. On the contrary, if the consequence of the ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class is, as first, and correctly stated, the capitalist's control of the labor power of the workers, then it follows that, not the control of the worker's labor power, but the possession of the means of production is "the source of all economic and political power," in existence.

The second passage amounts to a shifting of the "source of economic or political power." It amounts to attributing "source" or cause importance, to what is itself not a "source" or cause, but admittedly by Mr. Averill himself, a consequence of the cause or "source."

From this suddenly shifted "cause" Mr. Averill proceeds to deduct two principles—both of them legitimate offspring of their vague parentage or premises:

1. "If the capitalist should lose his control of the social labor power of the proletariat, he would lose his control of all government and every social power"—an assumption which can only contemplate the absurd possibility of the capitalist's preserving control of the means of production and yet losing control of the social labor power of the proletariat; and

2. "If the proletariat, on the other hand, should acquire conscious control of its social labor power, it would control all government and every social power"—a supposition which, in turn, can only contemplate the equally absurd possibility of the proletariat's acquiring control of its own social labor power, and yet remain without possession of the means of production.

The useful purpose that the Averill tanglefoot reason serves is to throw light upon its kinship and bring into relief the place it occupies among its kindred—the seemingly unrelated pure and simple Socialist politician and the pure and simple physical forcist.

While the pure and simple Socialist politician on the one side of the fence, tanglefoots himself into the theory that the economic organization is impotent for ever and aye; on the other side of the fence, the pure and simple physical forcist tanglefoots himself into the theory that political action is impotent for aye and ever; while, in other words, these two elements are incapable of the synthetical reasoning which explains the failure attendant upon segments of separately operating movements, which should operate jointly—while this performance proceeds on the two sides of the fence, one side insisting "no politics!" the other "no force!"—the Averill elements links the two tanglefooters together with a third tanglefoot reasoning as the foundation for the ultimate conclusion that the solution lies in doing nothing at all, but fatalistically to wait for the capitalist to "vanish."

When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend.

"UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS"

GENERAL COMMENTS ON AUSTRALIA.

By R. Mackenzie.

Burwood, N. S. W., November 22.—The steamers from America make Sydney their destination, it being the largest city, and located in the most highly-developed state; i. e., New South Wales. Arriving in Sydney harbor in the early morning, the ship anchored until the health officer made his inspection. The natives of New South Wales are known as "Cornstalkers" and we anticipated meeting a race of giants if the doctor was a fair sample, as the undersigned, though six feet high, had to use his neck like a rubber one to look him in the face. He was so tall that instead of looking at the passengers' faces he was looking down through their hats.

Sydney harbor is "the finest in the world," having many picturesque bays and promontories, the inlet to the harbor being through a passage from the Tasman Sea, guarded on either side by rocky cliffs known as "The Heads." The early morning sun shone on the red-tiled houses on the many heights where live the "Pillars of Society," giving one a delightful first impression. But this impression is somewhat rudely shattered on a closer acquaintance with the city, located but a few miles from the historic spot, Botany Bay, where Britain transported her "discontented" sons to the chain-gang in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. These convicts built many roads around Sydney, and a wall around the water front of the Botanical Gardens, where one will find carved on a rock a tribute to the "great" mind of the wife of the Governor of the period, who conceived the idea of having that wall and road built by convict labor. But he would, indeed, be sharp of eyesight, who could find a tribute to the memory of the convicts. Many of these were transported for life for offences such as poaching (shooting deer or other animals on the domain of the land-owners, thus violating the sacred rights of god-ordained private property), sent into exile, severed from all ties they held dear to them, to die convicts unwept, unhonored and unsung.

The main street, George street, has evidently been built along a bullock track, winding up and down, in and out, wandering to every point in the compass. The general plan of the city is as crooked as a dog's hind leg.

Previous to 1900 this continent was composed of separate colonies, but in that year they were federated into the Australian Commonwealth (Private-wealth), with states, legislatures, and Federal Parliament, somewhat similar to the United States, with a Federal Constitution and a Supreme Court to overrule certain laws as "unconstitutional."

Adjoining the Botanical Gardens is a park or common, known as the "Public Domain." Here, on Sunday afternoons, soap-box orators of all types and beliefs, hold forth to the proletarians; the Salvation Army beating a big drum and offering salvation via the gospel-factory and collection route, while fifty yards away the speakers of the S. L. P. or the I. W. W. are delivering the revolutionary message of the historic mission of the wage-slave, competing with their lungs against the S. A. big drum in front of them, while a lanky Methodist bible thumper sings hymns to the music of a groaning organ on the right.

All steamers are met by barkers for "hotels," known locally as "coffee palaces." Some of my fellow-passengers were in four "palaces" in as many nights. The American term of "bug-house" would be more applicable.

The steam railroads and trolley cars are owned, or rather operated, by the New South Wales Government, within the boundaries of that state, the system of construction and operation being the same as in Great Britain, in almost every detail. The depot platforms are about three feet above the tracks, engines are without cowcatchers, and many of the cars are of the old dog-box type, being divided into several compartments, holding ten passengers. The five on one side gazing into the faces of those on the opposite side endeavoring to maintain a posture as immovable and a face as stolid as a waxwork celebrity.

The street cars (known as tramways), are operated on the sectional fare system. The routes are divided into two cent sections. No cash registers are used, the passenger receiving a numbered ticket of different colors, according to section traveled. The transfer system is unknown. The "spotter" system is in use. The craft union recently had an unsuccessful strike for the abolition of the "spy" and other grievances. During the hours of "Holy Worship" no cars are run on Sundays, the "Worship" being liable to disturbance if a trolley pole should jump the wire.

The city is like a "dead one" on Sunday, all stores, but restaurants, are closed, while the "Pillars of Society" have the window blinds down, so that the proletarian can center his thoughts on God, instead of gazing at the commodities he produced and desires to possess. This is where Moses rings in one of his commandments "Thou shalt not covet."

Australia having no revolutionary traditions peculiar to the country, the traditions and characteristics that predominate are English—painfully so. The average Australian (and of course it must be understood my observations are confined so far to New South Wales in general and Sydney in particular), is possessed of the absorbing idea to get a "steady billet" (job) in the Government. All over the city, in store windows, mostly barbers, one sees a notice thus: "I communicate with Hobart, Tasmania, with ever steamer." On investigation, the curious find that the storekeeper sells horse-race sweep tickets, the drawing taking place in Tasmania, because it is illegal in New South Wales.

Superficially, it seems that the Australian is a great sport, but his sporting habits have an economic basis. It is only too evident in any conversation with the "plungers" that it is the desire to escape from the economic pressure that is the impelling force behind their twenty-five cent weekly sweep-ticket. Their greatest ambition next to a steady job is to win the first prize in the Melbourne Cup, $30,000. These are their absorbing passions; "they think of them by day; they dream of them by night, they're wearing their heart away for them." They seem to derive a great pleasure in building castles in the air, and it is amusing to hear groups of workers speculating on their chances of success and how they have mentally arranged to spend "it."

The American system of flats is practically non-existent, the general style being cottages on the English plan. Every two by four shack has a name to it, such as "Tyneside, Salisbury," etc. The owners ape the custom of the English aristocrats as if their puny houses were landed estates. The one occupied by the writer is tagged "Victory Lodge," an appropriate name for a Socialist's house, but which smacks too much of Horatio Nelson for the writer's taste.

There are two different accents in the English spoken here, one being the pronounciation of the Cockney, the other being rather pleasant to listen to. The "English" can certainly make itself expressive in many dialects. A "guy" is a "bloke" and the delirium of enjoyment is known as a "bosker time." There is not the vast slang vocabulary that there is in the United States and some words have an entirely different interpretation as a "hard grafter" is a "hard worker." A job is a "billet" and a person who "flies off the handle" is said to have "gone crook." Stealing clothes from a backyard is known as "snow-dropping." The word stealing is tabooed; its substitute is "shaking." The origin of this is told in this way: A man who robbed a drug store pleaded when arraigned that the label on the bottle which he took had the words: "Shake the bottle, so I shook it." Nuff sed.

Australia provides many climates from the tropical north to the cold Tasmania, and the snow-clad peaks of Koskinso, the highest mountain in New South Wales and Australia 7,000 feet above sea-level. But it is about twenty-five years since snow has been seen in Sydney. Winter is not what Americans would call cold. The lowest temperature last winter was about twenty-four degrees above, but still there is a rawness and dampness which makes the place very disagreeable. In the last week in July and first week in August the total rainfall was nineteen and one-half inches, but that is said to be an abnormal rainfall for fourteen days. On November 7 the temperature soared to 101 degrees in the shade, and the usual reaction occurred, namely, a gale sprang up from the south, known as a "southernly buster" and it became forty degrees cooled in about as many minutes. The next day was decidedly cold.

The seasons are the reverse of America, the shortest day is June 21, and the longest December 21. Christmas is in summer and July is a winter month. July fruit trees shed their leaves in the fall, and the blue gum trees shed their bark, a new one coming on it, in the spring.

This is the land of the flying fox. Nearly all the native animals carry their young in a pouch. We went down to the Zoo, and saw a kangaroo, the real goods, and he looks as intelligent as his namesake in the Socialist political movement in America. There are several animals of the same type kangaroos, wallabies, a smaller species of kang, and the kangaroo rat. The heads are very small in proportion to the bodies, short forelegs, which they use for picking up food and long hindlegs, which they hop along on with their body doubled up like a half-shut knife. The tail is thick and tapers down like a rat's. It is used as a balance, like a three-legged stool, when the animal is sitting on its hind legs.

Roosters begin to crow at 10 p. m. and remain at it intermittently during the night. Birds call to each other. It seems nature is upside down in the Antipodes.

I here give some of the names of places of aboriginal (Australian native black-fellow) origin, I suppose. Wooloomooloo, Wollongong, Murrumbidgee, Bombalo, Wagga-Wagga, Bong-Bong, Cookamidgera, Currabubula, Grang-Grong, Gundibindyal, Katoomba, Nunmamurra. It makes one feel like learning to speak again, to pronounce these jaw-breakers.

Taking into consideration that Australia is practically a new country, one expects to see better conditions than prevail in England, but Sydney has as dirty slums as in Whitechapel, and as miserable specimens of the down-and-out working class as can be seen anywhere. The number of prostitutes to be met with is only too sure a reflex of the capitalist system, showing that it is as degrading in its effects in Australia as in any other capitalist country. Notwithstanding all the labor legislation of the last fifteen years, by the Labor (?) Party, economic insecurity confronts the workers the same as in America. The "Appeal to Reason" and such S. P. trash in America talk about Socialism in Australia and New Zealand, but notwithstanding state ownership of railroads, street cars, and telephones the working class is up against it good and hard.

LOUIS AUGUSTE BLANQUI.

Louis Auguste Blanqui died in Paris January 2, 1881. He was born February 8, 1805, at Puget-Theniers, France. From 1824 he studied law and medicine in Paris, and took an active part in revolutionary propaganda. In 1830 he fought behind the barricades on the side of the people, and he fought in all Paris insurrections since that time. On the 12th of May, 1839, he led another insurrection which proved a failure and which resulted in his capture and he was condemned to death, which sentence was, however, changed to life imprisonment.

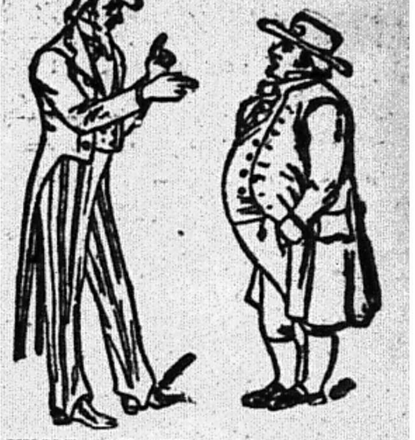
In the February revolution of 1848 he regained his freedom, and he hastened at once to Paris where he formed the "Central Republican Committee" which brought about the mass demonstrations of March 17, April 16, and May 15. After the latter event he was again captured and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The amnesty of 1859 gave him his freedom and he went to London, returning to Paris in 1861 in which year, on the 14th day of June he again was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. When the monarchy fell in 1870 he was given a free field for the propagation of his communistic ideas and he established the radical paper "La Patrie en danger."

At the insurrection of the 18th of March, 1871, and the declaration of the Commune, he was an active participant, for which, after the fall of the Commune, he was arrested by Thiers and sentenced to deportation to New Caledonia. This, however, was changed to imprisonment in Quelem and Clairvaux on account of his poor health. While in prison he was elected Deputy in Bordeaux, but was declared ineligible, being deprived of his political rights, which were not even restored to him when pardoned by Grevy, June 9, 1879.

Aside from his articles in "La Patrie en danger," he wrote the following books: "L'eternite dans les Astres," "L'Armee esclave et opprimee," and "Critique Sociale."

A monument was erected in his memory in the Cemetery Pere-Lachaise and was unveiled in 1885.

> "A noble spectacle and one well worthy of meditation, is that of the attempts made in the different ages of the world, to ameliorate the physical and moral condition of man. . . . Never does humanity rest: one experiment immediately succeeds another, and we advance through revolutions toward unknown destines."
>
> —Blanqui.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I'd like to know upon what principle Socialists claim that the working class should have all the wealth, and the capitalist class none.

UNCLE SAM—Upon the very simple principle that the working class does all the work of production and the capitalist class does none.

B. J.—That's not so.

U. S.—What's not so?

B. J.—That the capitalists do no work.

U. S.—If you know of any one who does, let me know.

B. J.—Did you ever hear of Jay Gould?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Did you ever read his biography?

U. S.—Several of them, and they prove my statement.

B. J.—You must have been asleep while reading them; or you must have read very imperfect ones.

U. S.—Neither.

B. J.—Why, I remember distinctly that it is recorded in the one I read that he used to work regularly 16 hours a day.

U. S. (puts his hands to his hips and roars.)

B. J.—What are you roaring about?

U. S.—At your blunder. I now see the funny error that you have fallen into.

B. J.—What error?

U. S.—You are getting mixed upon the word "work." See here! Does a pickpocket "work" or does he not?

B. J.—Guess he does.

U. S.—Does a forger "work" or does he not?

B. J.—I guess he, too, works.

U. S.—Now don't you see the difference between "work" and "work"?

B. J. (puckers up his eyelids as if a flood of light is pouring in his eyes).

U. S.—All exertion may be termed "work." But there are two sorts of exertions. One sort is productive of benefits to society; it either directly enriches its store of wealth, or of knowledge, or it does so indirectly. This sort of exertion is the work done by the working class. Another sort of exertion is productive of nothing, at least of nothing that is good, and may be productive of much that is bad. Not an additional blade, or an additional shoe string, not one particle of the material wealth needed by man is brought forth by the exertion of the pirate, the forger, the pickpocket or any other criminal; nor does their exertion bring forth one bit of useful knowledge. The exertion of all such people does only this: it transfers to their own pockets the wealth created by the productive work of others. This sort of exertion is the work of the capitalist class.

B. J.—Well, I must admit, that throws a new light upon the subject.

U. S.—The capitalist class does not do any useful work. It schemes, indulges in tricks by which it transfers from the hands of the working class the wealth that they produce, and its several members cudgel their brains and "work" 16 or more hours a day upon fraudulent devices to cheat one another. This sort of work, so far from being entitled to any reward, is entitled only to severe punishment. That's why we Socialists say that the capitalists are entitled to nothing except bolts and bars.

B. J.—If that's the only sort of work they do they surely deserve the prison.

U. S.—On the other hand, the intellectual and manual workers, the working class exerts itself in the interests of life. Its mental and manual efforts do all the thinking, and produce all the material things that civilized man aspires to, and that life requires. That's why we Socialists say that all the wealth belongs to the working class.

B. J.—So say I now!

U. S.—Don't ever again allow yourself to be deceived by the words that capitalists and their hirelings fling about. Work is noble. No capitalist works, except in the sense of the multi-millionaire father in the following story:

Multi-millionaire to applicant for his daughter's hand: "Do you work, sir?"

Applicant for the hand of multi-millionaire's daughter: "I do, sir."

Multi-millionaire to applicant for his daughter's hand: "Whom do you work?"

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

HELPS OUR EXTRAORDINARY OFFER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I herein send $1 to be added to fund started by "Come Again," and A. Peilero, Panama, for free distribution of books, which I consider the most important move that could have been made, as our strength can only be judged by our knowledge.

M. Ferrall.

Colorado Springs, Colo., December 22.

UP AND DOING IN ELIZABETH.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Elizabeth has arranged a lecture course for the winter; announcement of dates will be made later. The comrades have resolved to get down to work for the Party Press, and as we are all "young fellows," there should be something doing in the way of subs to the Weekly People. We hope to see the rest of the comrades in this state going into the harness, and placing New Jersey higher in the column of S. L. P. activity, where it belongs as a highly developed industrial state.

Organizer.

Elizabeth, N. J., Dec. 26.

AND MERRILY THE DAILY PEOPLE GOES ALONG.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Comrade Gillhaus says that the "pet universal gag" now, of the S. P. contingent, jointly with the Bush Temple wreckage, is the circulation of a story that there is a $30,000 mortgage on the Daily People plant. That story is not "universal," at least not yet, for it was only last week that I heard, in Elizabeth, that the S. P. there are circulating the story that "De Leon and Kuhn, between them, own the Daily People plant." The week before an S. P. sympathizer in Jersey City said to me that he had been told by the "other side," meaning the S. P., that either Tammany Hall or the Republican party financed the Daily People. A piece of the "wreck" that is floating around here says that "De Leon owns it all." So you see Comrade Gillhaus is not quite correct in intimating that these gentry are peddling a universal lie about the Daily People. If Gillhaus had said that the bunch he refers to were universal liars—well, that would be more like it. They are mendacious enough, but they are just as stupid as they are mendacious, so that the result is their stories kick one another.

Just at present there is more than usual activity in pushing around lies about the Daily People. Wonder what is the cause of it? It was hinted to me that the "Call's" continued howl for funds had something to do with it. It seems that there are some S. P. men who once in a while raise the question: "If the S. L. P. can run its Daily People without continually begging, why can't we, with a bigger membership, and our big vote, run the 'Call' without continually begging, like the Salvation Army at Christmas time?"

The answer made to the question is the stupid lies that bob up here and there every now and then. The lies are not to answer the men who ask the pertinent question; bless you, no. The lies are to feed to those who do no thinking—they are for the stuffable, whose pennies are wanted.

Just at present the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund is being worked for all it is worth by the "Call" interests, and should one of the members call attention to the fact that the S. L. P. members do not consider the W. S. & D. B. F. treasury a newspaper pension fund or largess he is howled down.

By the way, the "Call" now claims 30,000 circulation, and "growing," "getting firm foothold," etc, while some months ago they claimed 50,000. Wonder if the "Call" and "Volkszeitung" are hunting together? I heard of a rabid Volkszeitungite coming here from Newark to ask for funds for the "Call," from a branch of the W. S. & D. B. F.

The lies circulated against the Daily People put me in mind of the motto: "As the statist thinks, he clinks." The Daily People is not only a reproach, it is also a menace to the financial and other aspirations of those who utter the lies.

J. H.

Jersey City, December 19.

"NAPPY" UNTRUTHFUL, AGAIN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the last issue of the I. U. Bulletin St. John reports Philadelphia "all right" with the exception of Mixed Local 218. I hope you can find space for this reply. Since its re-organization in September, 1907, this local has taken active part in the organization of every local now existing in Philadelphia. No other local has ever carried on any propaganda or agitation. When the crooked work of "Headquarters" became apparent Local 218 ceased its activity and awaited developments. When the call for a conference was issued it responded and sent a delegate to Paterson. On receiving reports of its delegate it resumed activity and as a result of the work of a member, A. Savelsky, has succeeded in organizing a local of Clothing Workers with bright prospects of further successful work for Industrial Unionism.

To those who know the history of the I. W. W. in Philadelphia since 1905, the I. W. W. in Philadelphia without Local 218 is "Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark." The District Council, representing the "All right" locals has not met in five months with the exception of once, when St. John was present and was forced to agree to debate with Francis by Delegates Basky and Parker, who insisted on knowing both sides of the question. The results of the debate are becoming apparent and the "all right" locals will soon be again in line with the "exception," Mixed Local 218.

A. Mullen,
Secretary Local 218.

Philadelphia, Pa., December 25.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN CINCINNATI.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In view of the fact that the answer to the letter of Alexander Berkman in the Letter Box of the Weekly People of Dec. 26th "shows him not to be one of the privileged few," endowed with the natural power of reasoning, it may be interesting to the readers of The People to know that Emma Goldman some six weeks ago, at the Vine Street Congregational Church in Cincinnati, was confused and confounded by a simple question.

She was billed to speak on "The Clowns of Politics." The admission was fifteen cents and the church was reasonably full. She began with the Republican party, then gave her attention to the Democratic party, then the Prohibition party, and after a pause, she said, "Oh, I had almost forgot, there is another political party, the Socialist party (tremendous applause), a party of virgin purity. (More t. a.) Yes, the Socialist party reminds me of a virgin, (again t. a.) one of those virgins you see pictured in the comic press, with ringlets, and a coy inviting smirk as she gazes around longingly to see where her seducer sits."

Emma paused here, giving them ample time to applaud, the while smiling broadly. The smile was contagious. The Republicans and Democrats took it up and developed it into a hearty laugh. The poor confused S. P.-ites, who had been deluded into believing that Emma was going to say something particularly nice about them sat silent and red of face.

Then she sailed into them and gave them such a drubbing as she never could give the Republicans or Democrats. She showed them how they had departed from the teachings of Marx and Engels, how they were the reflex of the A. F. of L. She told them their national committeemen were not members of the working class, their candidate for President was not a worker, but a man who could go into a meeting of ordained ministers of the gospel, and for the time being to all intents and purposes be one of them; also into a meeting of business or professional men with a like result. This was all right from a vote catching point of view, and of course a proletariat could not play the versatile role of Eugene V. Debs (for whom she professed a strong personal friendship), but she said they desecrated the red banner of the proletariat; they had no right to it as they were not a political party of the working class.

She never once referred to the S. L. P. After she was through with the S. P., she announced that questions were in order. I was on my feet immediately, and addressed her in these words:

"Why have you deliberately ignored the only party of Socialism in the United States that has not departed from the teachings of Marx and Engels; the party that not only had for its Presidential candidate a proletariat, but a proletariat at present in prison serving a 25 year sentence for taking a life in defence of his own when performing picket duty for his union? Why have you ignored a party whose national platform demands nothing less than the unconditional surrender of capitalism; a party that absolutely owned and controlled its press; a party that occupied this position in the estimation of the capitalist press; a party the Editor of whose official organ when called upon by a reporter of the capitalist press of New York for an interview, told the reporter he was too busy, but pointed to the proletarian press of which he was Editor, and said: 'Read those editorials, they are mine; then formulate your own conception of me.' The next day the paper that this reporter represented said: 'This man is far more dangerous to society, as it is at present constituted, than John Most and all his colleagues.' Emma Goldman has paid to this party the highest compliment it is possible for her to pay to a political party, by ignoring it. I now demand that she render to this party the full measure of justice due it, by giving to this audience the name of the only political party of the working class in the United States."

When I sat down, even the poor confused S. P.ites applauded me, glad that some one had found an opening in the seemingly impenetrable armor of the seemingly peerless Emma.

She had announced that each one might have five minutes, and use it for either questions or criticism. A few more asked questions of little importance, and then she answered.

She did us full justice. Yes, we were a party that had not departed from the teachings of Marx and Engels. It was true we stood on a revolutionary platform, equally true we had a proletariat candidate for President, and it was to our credit that we had the temerity to brave the deep-seated prejudice in the minds of the workers by nominating a worker incarcerated in prison for obeying the first law of nature, "self-preservation." But!—and how she did emphasize that little word "but." Shall I call it billingsgate, or shall I say that poor Emma, no longer peerless, was now like a confused and angry child, now sticking up her nose, now sticking out her tongue, even naughtily pursing her no longer pretty lips and actually spitting at the poor unoffending S. L. P.?

"But"—we had for the Editor of our press, the "New York People," a man "more autocratic than any that had ever sat on Russia's throne"; a man that "held us all in the hollow of his hand"; a man that "moulded each and every opinion we expressed"; a man that was "more intolerant than any Pope who had ever worn the triple crown"; a man whose "vituperative tongue and pen was doing more to retard the economic emancipation of the working class than all other causes combined." And she wound up by saying that this man's influence is such on the minds of his worshippers that each and every member of the S. L. P. was his reflex, and in consequence each and all an intolerable petty tyrant.

It would take all the art of a journalistic genius to adequately describe poor Emma's confused anger in full. Not being such, of course I shall not attempt it.

Every single word she uttered was a libel, and almost every one present realized it. For speaking the pure, unvarnished truth, Daniel De Leon was pronounced an autocrat, a pope, a moulder of opinions; for exercising the same prerogative that she exercised that night, he was an infamous "assassin of character."

Why are these Anarchists so sensitive that they foam at the mouth if you speak of them as physical forcists, and the I. W. W. discarders of the preamble so indignant when you tell them they are veiled dynamiters?

Emma could not say too much in praise of the Trautmann-St. John faction of the I. W. W. And she could not utter a single word against the S. L. P. (but oh! if she could, what she would say would be a-plenty). She was the most perfect picture that night of impotent anger and defeat that I have ever seen. Her teeth fairly gritted as she hissed out the name of De Leon.

Poor faithful old De Leon: all such attacks are like the hiss of the gallery gods in a theatre, the irresponsible homage of those whose sympathy your sterling merit can never wean to you.

B. S. Frayne.

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 28.

STRIKE OUT IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION!

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the so-called convention of the I. W. W., held in Chicago last September, a good work was done which is generally overlooked by S. L. P. speakers and organizers throughout the length of the coast. This good work was the separating of the chaff from the wheat.

The chaff in the movement we find are generally idealists, and an I. W. W. idealist that has an I. W. W. cart-wheel in his mind and ignores Marxian economics and the materialist conception of history, is as big a dreamer as an "Appeal to Reason" Socialist who carries a pen picture of the Socialist Republic around in his vest pocket, and votes for Debs every four years, and really imagines he is doing a "great work for Socialism."

The other evening I had the "pleasure" of listening to a speech by Mr. Claude Riddle, previously an intellectual light in the Socialist party, but now an ardent advocate and disciple of the principles (if she has got any) of Emma Goldman. Mr. Riddle made the statement that the "I. W. W." was always an Anarchist association, but the trouble was "some of us fool Socialists didn't know it, and are just now finding it out."

The Anarchists of Los Angeles claim that the struggle which is on in society is between the "PEOPLE" (bourgeoisie and proletariat) and the "GOVERNMENT." The "I. W. W." preamble which is cribbed from Marxian economics claims the struggle which is now on is between the Working Class and the Capitalist Class. The Socialist Labor Party can leave this question to an intelligent working class or to any fair-minded person and rest assured that a right conception will prevail in the end.

In the great phenomena of society, there are two fields: the political and the industrial fields. You ask why? Why does a bird have two wings? In the million years of development why didn't they develop one wing that would perform the function of two? In the heavens, why do we have the "Milky Way"? Let's do away with it; the world will turn over every twenty-four hours; our atmosphere will be just as pure without it; it does not affect animal or vegetable life. The astronomer that would put up such an argument would not get a hearing. The same thing will prevail in the Labor Movement. A St. John or a Trautmann that does not understand the phenomena of society, that cannot grasp the Labor Movement in its entirety, will sooner or later be laughed down by a militant proletariat.

There has been so much education done in the ranks of Labor the last few years that it will be hard for self-styled "labor leaders" to give the working class a "bum steer." The working class will not stand for such a shock. The Socialist Labor Party on the political field, and the Socialist form, or industrial unionism on the economic field, are here to stay, regardless of S. P.-ites, Anarchists and other spongers and wormwood that are afloat in the Labor Movement to-day. Every wage slave must do like fellow worker Carroll: strike out in the right direction, or he can never reach the proper destination—the Socialist Republic.

Let's have true Socialist Unity on the political field. Then, and not until then, can we have any solidarity in the ranks of the workers.

O. W. Sewell.

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 18.

S. L. P. VERSUS S. P. TEACHINGS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The official vote of the S. L. P. in New Hampshire as submitted by the Secretary of State is 8; S. P., 1,299.

There were at least fifteen in the city of Manchester who voted the S. L. P. ticket. The comrades sent S. L. P. stickers throughout the State to sympathizers and others. Notwithstanding we had to vote by stickers I believe 108 would not cover the actual vote.

No one should fail to consider the principles and tactics of the S. L. P. and S. P. in New Hampshire when comparing the seemingly larger vote polled by the S. P.

The S. L. P. ever stands for the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, both industrially and politically.

The S. P. stands for the buying out of the capitalist class, the price to be fixed by an impartial jury (demand 9th, N. H. S. P. State platform), middle class economics, belly crawling to the labor fakir, and last, but not least, the utter disregard of the Marxian theory of economics. These economics were disregarded in a speech from the public platform by no less a personage than the last candidate for Governor, S. F. Claflin.

It can be seen there is plenty of work for the S. L. P. Buckle on your armor, ye militants, and don't forget Eugene V. Debs' words when in this city, to wit, "The Socialist party is the only party worthy the support of the working class."

Fred. J. Wolfe.

Manchester, N. H., Dec. 20.

FIXING THE S. P. ON GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A committee of army officers and engineers commissioned by the U. S. government have been inspecting the steamers Sierra, Sonoma and Ventura of the Oceanic Steamship Company with the view of purchasing them for the line that the government at the urgent request of the railroad-harassed manufacturers intends to establish between Pacific Coast ports and Panama, there to connect with the government-owned railroad and Atlantic Steamship line.

Recently the government purchased two steamers, the Shawmut and Tremont, for its projected Pacific Panama line. It would seem that the capitalist state in America were beginning to take over the common carriers as Frederick Engels long ago pointed out they must in order to prevent the domination of the whole capitalist world by a fragment thereof.

The commercial bodies, consisting of manufacturers and shippers, are jubilant that their long-cherished plans against the arrogant and autocratic railroads are at length bearing fruit.

While nothing has as yet been heard from the Socialist party, no doubt there, too, the joy is exuberant, for some of their immediate demands are being realized sooner than they expected and now, in addition to the "Socialist" dots which exist all over the country in the shape of post offices, a thin rim of "Socialism" will encompass the country from San Francisco to the Isthmus and from thence to New York. And yet misery, starvation and wage slavery still continue. Why?

H.

San Francisco, Cal., December 15.

WILSHIRE PULLING VOLKSZEITUNG HAIR BY THE BUNCH.

I.

New York, Dec. 17, 1908.

Mr. Gaylord Wilshire,
200 William St.,
New York City.

Dear Sir: We have your letter of December 9th, in which you propose that we send a competent man to Bishop Creek, to investigate the mine of the Bishop Creek Gold Mining Company and to make a report on it, which report should be published in our paper.

We respectfully decline the proposal. The New Yorker Volkszeitung is not primarily interested in the merits of your mine. What our corespondent objected to chiefly, was the fact that your magazine is used by you for the propaganda of Socialism and at the same time for the promotion of gold mining stock speculation. This bleeding of two entirely inconsistent objects he criticized as a dangerous innovation in the Socialist movement, and we printed his letter because we considered it an entirely legitimate criticism. Our board substantially endorsed the views of our correspondent.

You have started your magazine as an organ for the propaganda of Socialism and have built up a large circulation through the efforts of Socialists all over the country, who voluntarily co-operated with you in order to make your magazine an effective weapon for our cause. When you used the power thus placed in your hands by your comrades in the movement for the promotion of your private pecuniary interests, you abused the confidence of these comrades, and you involved to a large extent the progress of the Socialist movement in the success or failure of your private business. This conduct, which is, so far as we know, entirely unprecedented in the Socialist movement, we would consider reprehensible, even if your enterprise were not of such a speculative nature as gold mining schemes notoriously are.

A careful reading of your letter, moreover, convinces us that it was not written primarily for the purpose of vindicating your character as a Socialist or as a Capitalist, but for the purpose of advertising, and that is another reason why we cannot take any action on it, and we therefore consider the incident closed as far as we are concerned.

Very truly yours,
N. Y. Volkszeitung.
Otto Knoll, Sec'y.

II.

December 21, 1908.

Publishers of
New Yorker Volkszeitung,
15 Spruce Street, City.

Dear Sirs: I have your letter of the 17th inst., and I would respectively say that the objections you now make to the mine are on an entirely different basis from what you originally made; inasmuch as your objection now is of a personal nature and relates to my connecting Socialism with the mine, whereas the first objection was to the effect that the mine itself was no good, and was of the nature of a swindle.

I certainly have no objection whatsoever to the tone of your letter of December 17th; that is a matter of personal opinion. However, when you go to the extent of characterizing the mine as a swindle, then it is up to you to make good, or keep your mouth shut.

Very truly yours,
Gaylord Wilshire.

New York.

GOOD CHEER FROM PANAMA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Kindly publish the enclosed letter from our comrade, Edith Cody, of Panama. The donation she sends us is particularly opportune inasmuch as the Socialist Women are about to publish in Jewish Mrs. Johnson's pamphlet "Woman and the Socialist Movement."

Mrs. A. B. Touroff,
Secretary, S. W. G. N. Y.

New York, December 29.

(Enclosure.)

Cristobal, C. Z.,
Dec. 20. 1908.

Anna B. Touroff,
New York,

Dear Comrade,

Enclosed find P. O. order for $10. If it isn't out of place I wish the S. W. of G. N. Y. a Merry Christmas and a happy and prosperous New Year for revolutionary Socialism.

Yours for the Overthrow,
Edith L. Cody.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. C., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Now to your fifth and last question—

Rent is not raised because taxes go up; just the other way; taxes are raised because rent (rental prices) go up. Master this economic fact, which landlords try to conceal.

More clearly than in the instance of the price, paid by Labor for other things, is it obvious, in the instance of rent, that taxes come, not out of the pockets of Labor, but out of the pockets of the property-holding class. It is out of the increased rental price, which he would otherwise pocket in full, that the landlord has to pay the raised taxes.

W. G. A., HAYWOOD, ENG.—Now to your last questions in lump—

It should not be difficult to detect the cuttle-fish purpose in folks who raise issues of definition in matters that are sufficiently clear.

D. B. M., GRANITE, OKLA.—Write to Dietz, Publishers, Stuttgart, Germany.

R. C. M., GOVAN, SCOTLAND—Supply and demand periodically do equilibrate each other. What an excess of supply over demand, or of demand over supply effects is to affect PRICES. In the former case to lower prices, in the latter to raise them. What Marx does when he supposes the case of supply and demand equilibrating each other is to knock down and out the claim that supply and demand determine VALUE. If supply and demand did determine VALUE, then value would cease when the supply equals the demand. Seeing VALUE continues, it follows that, not VALUE, but PRICE is determined by supply and demand. The importance of the Marxian expression is to compel inquiry into the source of VALUE. Inquiry proves that value is determined, regardless of supply and demand, by the labor-power socially necessary to produce a commodity.

H. P., SAN JOSE, CAL.—It now is quite certain that the reason for the breach of the Abruzzi-Elkins match was the virtual veto of King Edward. A brother of the Prince of the Abruzzi was engaged to marry a relative of Edward. He vetoed this marriage if the Abruzzi match took place. Elkins would gladly have mortgaged the bone and marrow of his wage slaves for a generation ahead in order to raise his daughter's dower to any pitch demanded by the Italian King or Queen—he could not match Edward's veto.

A. I. E., KALISPELL, MONT.—There thou settest thy finger on a nerve that aches—or, rather, upon an experience that warns against Utopianism. The evolution of the Heslewoods and St. Johns from raw material that was promiseful of good, to frayed material, good only for the ash barrel is not cause "to lose heart," as you imagine, but cause for one to fortify himself with the facts of science, which explain such characters. The matter will be treated editorially. Thanks for the hint.

E. D., NEW YORK—Just tell us what is there to prevent the employer from sending into a party of Socialism "a hireling to raise a stink over the heads of true men," just as he does—we admit he does—into the Union? If you can tell us that we shall surrender.

F. A. F., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—What principle did the Kangaroos set up in the 16th Assembly District when they set up Hillquit in 1899 against the S. L. P. candidate? The only issue they raised that we can recall was—Whether De Leon is a Jew and denies it, or whether he is not a Jew and claims to be one. There was, we now remember, a subsidiary issue—Whether De Leon's name is not Loeb.

R. W. M., ERIE, PA.—A scientific definition, and as short as possible, of the term "Charity"?—To rob wholesale and return retail.

Next question next week.

R. J. H., RENO, NEV.—The "Bloody Sunday" was the January 22, 1905 Sunday in which a large number of workingmen and women, children, too, marching in St. Petersburg to present their grievances to the Czar in peaceful petition, were fired upon by the troops and dispersed. The procession was led by a priest, Father Gapon, who escaped untouched. The Moscow riots did not have the significance and effect of "Bloody Sunday."

C. F., ELIZABETH, N. J.—The matter cannot be found in the office. Could you repeat?

I. T. C., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—People who allow others to play upon their feelings must pay the fiddler, even though they do not like the tune.

W. E., TACOMA, WASH.—By an inevitable chain of cause and effect, Anarchistic methods lead inevitably to murder. Read the chapter "Supplementary" in the pamphlet 'As to Politics."

G. H. F., MYSTIC, IA.—We can see nothing "phenomenal" in the appearance of dollar bills where before the silver dollar circulated. The East has noticed no change.

L. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; E. L., NEWARK, N. J.; E. R. M., PITTSBURG, PA.; L. M. B., CARSON CITY, NEV.; T. W. A., OAKLAND, CAL.; G. F. DODSON, ORE.; E. B., COLUMBUS, O.; G. M. S., PROVIDENCE, R. I.; O. W. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; W. R. P., MISHAWAKA, IND.; G. S., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Matter received.

RESOLUTIONS ON DEATH OF COMRADE GUSTAVE STELZNER.

Whereas, Our Comrade Gustave Stelzner, a charter member of Section Passaic County, N. J., Socialist Labor Party, has passed away, and

Whereas, Our deceased comrade was for thirty years a true soldier in the army of working class emancipation, and a loyal supporter of the Socialist Labor Party since its organization in this country, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Section Passaic County, S. L. P., hold in sacred memory the name of Gustave Stelzner, while we continue our work for Socialism, the noble cause he loved so well, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes, a copy sent to the bereaved family, and to the Party Press for publication.

By order of Section Passaic County, S. L. P.

DIED.

John A. Morhart, an old-time member of the Socialist Labor Party in Jersey City, died Sunday morning, December 27th. The funeral services were held at his house, 33 Greenville avenue, Jersey City, Tuesday evening, December 29, 8 o'clock. Cremation of the body took place at Union Hill Crematory, Wednesday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, on December 30.

THE
DEVELOPMENT
OF
SOCIALISM
IN
GREAT BRITAIN

A Historic Economic Sketch of Affairs in Great Britain Down to the Present Time, Showing the Development of Industries, and of Capitalist and Labor Economic Organizations.

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28 CITY HALL PLACE
NEW YORK.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Paul Augustine, National Secretary.
28 City Hall Place.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, Philip Courtenay,
144 Duchess Ave., London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S. L. P.

Meets In Semi-Annual Session on January 3, 1909.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party was called to order at 10:45 a. m., at 28 City Hall Place, New York, January 3rd, by the National Secretary.

Present, with credentials and the pledges required by the Constitution—Reimer (Mass.), Reinstein (N. Y.), Thomas (Pa.), Kircher (O.), Marek (Conn.), Katz (N. J.).

Reimer was chosen chairman, Reinstein secretary.

National Secretary Augustine submitted his report. The report covered the campaign; the condition of the Party Press—"The People," the "Arbetaren" (Swedish), "Der Arbeiter" (Yiddish), and the Cleveland "Volksfreund" (German); the state of the organization; suspension of Section Westchester County, N. Y., for refusing to assist in the campaign; the decision of the Lettish Socialist Labor Federation to join the Party; suspension and re-organization of Section Passaic County, N. J., for conspiracy against the Party with the Trautmann-St. John physical-forcists; new Sections organized in Alabama, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, New Jersey; communications from S. P. members urging unity; the Bohn falsification of the January, 1907, minutes of the N. E. C.; the Jewish Federation; correspondence bureau; agitators and organizers and submitted recommendations.

Reimer and Thomas were appointed a committee to formulate an order of business jointly with the National Secretary. Adjourned to 1 p. m.

Reconvened at 1.15.

Correspondence was read from MacDowell, Va.; Gillhaus; from Ahlers, Detroit, Mich.; Gabosky, Lansing, Mich.: and the N. J. State Committee submitting statement and suggestions for a statement to be issued by the N. E. C. to the workers of the land. From E. Rudkvist, Secretary Scandinavian Socialist Federation, Boston. Action of Sub-Committee was sustained in sending Malmberg, Sub-Committeeman, and Brennan, as Party representatives to the Swedish Federation convention. From John Hossack, Secretary of N. J. Correspondence Bureau, on editor of Nepakarat. From D. D. Barrett, S. P., Terre Haute, Ind., urging unity. From D. B. Moore and others in Oklahoma. From Robert Strach, San Antonio, Tex. From Richard Koeppel, Cleveland, O.

The national campaign was then considered in detail. Action taken:

"Resolved, That Section Minneapolis, Minn., S. L. P., be censured for neglecting to take any action in the last national campaign to gather signatures to put a national ticket in the field. And that we instruct the National Secretary to communicate with the Sections in Minnesota on behalf of the N. E. C. urging them to take steps to prevent the occurrence of such cases of negligence in the future." Moved by Reinstein, seconded by Marek; carried unanimously.

The situation in Colorado, California and Washington was also considered.

On Party Press:

Moved by Reinstein, seconded by Thomas:

"Resolved, That the N. E. C. instruct the National Secretary of the Party to demand from all Socialist Labor language federations and publishers of Socialist Labor papers that they keep the National Headquarters of the Party supplied with copies of their mailing lists, same to be filed by National Secretary for the Party's use, together with the mailing list of The People." Carried unanimously.

Moved by Katz, seconded by Marek:

"Resolved, That the Sub-Committee be instructed to inquire into the Italian paper 'Raggione Nuova.'" Carried unanimously.

Moved by Katz, seconded by Kircher:

"Resolved, That the article of David Biell be referred back to editorial department." Carried unanimously.

Moved by Marek, seconded by Kircher:

"Resolved, That the report of the Editor of the Daily and Weekly People be accepted." Carried unanimously.

Moved by Reimer, seconded by Reinstein:

"Resolved, That we concur in the appointment by the Sub-Committee of Comrade Dittrich as Party manager of the Daily People; but we disapprove of the method adopted, inasmuch as we consider it the duty of the Sub-Committee to have referred the appointment to the N. E. C. for their final decision." Aye: Reimer, Reinstein, Katz, Thomas and Marek. No: Kircher.

Moved by Katz, seconded by Reinstein:

"Resolved, That a committee of three be elected to whom shall be referred the statement of the New Jersey State Committee." Carried unanimously.

The committee is Katz, Reinstein, and Reimer.

The N. E. C. adjourned to 9 a. m. this morning.

Second Day's Session.

The National Executive Committee reassembled at 10 a. m., January 4, at 28 City Hall place. All present.

Matters considered were:—the lease of the Daily People plant, Volksfreund and Arbeiter Zeitung.

The report of the Business Manager of the Daily People and Labor News Company was received and considered.

Moved by Reinstein, seconded by Kircher:

"Resolved, That the Labor News Co. be instructed to publish the Silver Cross of the Eugene Sue series in regular chronological order of the series, immediately after the publication of the four stories now going through the press."

Afternoon Session.

Further consideration of the Business Manager's report was laid over owing to the inability of the Business Manager to be present until later in the afternoon.

The N. E. C. then proceeded with the report of the Sub-Committee and National Secretary.

Moved by Thomas, seconded by Kircher:

"Resolved, That the action of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, in suspending Section Westchester County, N. Y., be sustained."—Carried unanimously.

Moved by Kircher, seconded by Marek:

"Resolved, That the action of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee in suspending Section Passaic County, N. J., be approved."—Carried unanimously.

Moved by Marek, seconded by Kircher:

"Resolved, That the N. E. C., having carefully examined the documents upon which the National Secretary, Paul Augustine, charged that the previous National Secretary, Frank Bohn, falsified the minutes of the January, 1907, session of the N. E. C., finds Augustine's charges well founded."—Carried unanimously.

Moved by Katz, seconded by Kircher:

"Resolved, That the Manifesto reported to this N. E. C. by the special committee, to which was referred the address to the workers of the land, submitted by the State Committee of New Jersey, together with the suggestions from Michigan in the same direction, be adopted, and the same be published forthwith in The People."—Carried unaimously.

Moved by Reinstein, seconded by Thomas:

"Resolved, That the National Secretary be instructed to draw up a contract with the Executive Committee of the Jewish Socialist Labor Federation securing for the N. E. C. of the party the mailing list and other property of the 'Arbeiter.'—Carried unanimously.

Moved by Reinstein, seconded by Kircher: "Resolved, That Joseph Schlossberg be endorsed as editor of the Jewish Party organ 'Der Arbeiter.'"—Carried unanimously.

Moved by Reimer, seconded by Marek: "Resolved, To authorize B. Reinstein to appeal through the papers, and have charge of a special fund for the publication of S. L. P. literature in the Russian language."—Carried unanimously.

Moved by Reimer, seconded by Marek: "Resolved, That the matter of supplying organization supplies be continued as heretofore, and the answer of National Secretary to Comrade Koeppel be endorsed."—Carried unanimously.

Moved by Reinstein, seconded by Thomas: "Regarding the contention of Connecticut S. E. C. that expenses of a National Committeeman attending session be paid by the National office,

"Resolved, That it is the duty of the membership of each State to pay such expenses, as it always was in the past."

Moved by Reinstein, seconded by Marek: "In reply to inquiry from Virginia S. E. C. whether an S. L. P. member should have a right to vote for or against local option,

"Resolved, That the N. E. C. sees no reason to deny the right of members of Party to vote on such questions, but considers it poor judgment on the part of a Socialist to combat alcoholism by means of such laws."

The report of the business manager was taken up again and considered in detail.

Auditing Committee, Henry Kuhn and Winnauer, reported accounts of National Secretary found correct. Receipts, $1,877.74; expenditures, $1,757.18. Balance, $120.56.

The Committee adjourned at 7 P. M., to re-convene at 8.

Closing Session.

At the closing session of the Committee the following business was transacted:

Moved by Thomas, seconded by Katz, "That the Sub-Committee be instructed to make proper arrangements to have the property and title to the Cleveland 'Volksfreund' and 'Arbeiter Zeitung' vested with the N. E. C." Carried unanimously.

Moved by Thomas, seconded by Reinstein, "That we instruct the Sub-Committee to arrange occasional tours for John Kircher in the interest of Party Press." Carried unanimously.

Moved by Reinstein, seconded by Kircher, "That the Labor News Co. be instructed to publish the address, adopted to-day, in pamphlet form." Carried unanimously.

Moved by Kircher, seconded by Thomas, "That the N. E. C. considers that all propositions to be submitted to a general vote shall be submitted through the National Office to the Sections for seconds." Carried unanimously.

In view of the fact that the proceedings of the National Convention of the Party, held last July, were not stenographically recorded and the money needed for publishing those proceedings in pamphlet form is needed for more urgent matters, it was moved by Reimer and seconded by Thomas, "That the motion by Dowler submitted and carried September 9th relative to publishing the proceedings of the last national convention be rescinded." Carried unanimously.

A plan for the establishment of a fund for national campaigns was submitted by the State Executive Committee of Texas. Upon discussion the following was moved by Kircher, and seconded by Thomas: "To instruct the National Secretary to inform the Texas S. E. C. that their plan of National Campaign assessment is not considered by the N. E. C. practicable." Carried unanimously.

To enable the members of the N. E. C. to be more in touch and better posted on the business transacted by the National Office it was moved by Reinstein and seconded by Marek: "To instruct the National Secretary to systematically supply all members of the N. E. C. with detailed information on important transactions in the National Office and with digests of important correspondence coming and going from the National Office." Carried unanimously.

To stimulate the sales of literature by the Party's book agency—the Labor News Co.—and also the better equipment of the Party membership with sound knowledge it was moved by Reinstein and seconded by Thomas, "That the N. E. C. urge every Section of the Party to purchase for Section's use as a Socialist library a complete set of all publications of Labor News Co. in accordance with an offer to be made by the Labor News Co." In this connection the N. E. C. expects that the Labor News Co. will make a special offer for such orders of complete sets of its publications and that, on the other hand, the membership will not only establish such Socialist libraries for Sections themselves, but will also endeavor to establish such libraries by clubs recruited for that purpose of people outside of the Party membership. The motion was carried unanimously.

Moved by Reimer, seconded by Marek. "That the National Secretary be instructed to prepare a directory of all progressive organizations, for Party use." Carried unanimously.

The following members were elected to act on the Sub-Committee for the coming term of six months: M. Lechner, J. Hammer, M. Rosenberg, H. Deutsch, N. Malmberg, A. Gollerstepper, J. A. Schwarz, J. Hall, J. J. Hanlon, F. W. Ball, A. C. Kihn, E. Oatley, C. Schrafft, J. C. Butterworth and L. E. Lafferty.

Having read and approved the records of the transactions of this entire session the N. E. C. adjourned sine die shortly after midnight Monday night.

B. Reinstein, Secretary.

S. L. P. SECTIONS, TAKE NOTICE!

In accordance with Section I. of Article XI. of the National Constitution, I hereby submit the following resolution which has received the required number of seconds:

"Resolved, That Section 14 of Article II. of the Party Constitution be amended by striking out the words, 'A member dropped from the roll for non-payment of dues shall not be admitted to membership except upon payment of six months dues."

Amendments to the above resolution are in order until February 10, 1909.

Paul Augustine,
National Secretary.

New York, January 5, 1909.

ADDRESS

(Continued from page 1.)

erbating in the remotest crannies of the land. And then—and then?—and then they shut up tight as a clam. For the rest of the campaign the Socialist Labor Party did not exist—as far as the press of the bourgeoisie was concerned. That was a matchless compliment paid to the Socialist Labor Party. Differently from the Socialist party, the Socialist Labor Party is no material for "second strings" to the bow of the plutocracy. The booming of the Socialist party could be done without harm to capitalism, the booming of the Socialist Labor Party could not be done with equal impunity. So far from causing the Socialist Labor Party to be known, the plutocracy thoroughly realizes that its interests demand the suppression of the Socialist Labor Party. It will not do to call attention to a party whose posture is the only danger in sight to capitalism. What the capitalist can not do himself and directly against the Union he accomplishes indirectly through his "Labor Lieutenant." With the difference that the "Labor Lieutenant" of the capitalist class is the creature and in the pay of the capitalist, and the Socialist party is not, the Socialist party is to the plutocracy and against the Socialist Labor Party what the "Labor Lieutenants" of the capitalist class are to capitalism and against the Union. The booming of the Socialist party by the Taft press served the additional purpose of "blanketing" the Socialist Labor Party. It was upon a national scale the experience made upon the smaller scale of the Ninth Congressional District of New York. Through the booming of the Socialist party, and thereby filling the public eye and ear with the Socialist party, the plutocratic press could, and, at this weak stage of the Movement, did succeed in blanketing the Socialist Labor Party as it could not have done directly through the booming of its own, the plutocratic party. Both directly, in its enthusiastic posture towards the Socialist party, and by contrast, in its studied ignoring of the Socialist Labor Party which had first caused it to yelp with rage, the press of the plutocracy paid to the Socialist Labor Party a compliment that speaks volumes.

In view of all these facts, as well may the Democracy attempt to "prove" its soundness (as against the Socialist party) by unrolling its many times longer scroll of votes, as the Socialist party pretend to "prove" its superiority over the Socialist Labor Party on the ground of the latter's small poll. It is not "votes"—leastwise votes regardless of where drift-sanded—that are the determining factor at this stage of the Movement. The determining factor is the principle upon which the vote-structure is raised. A declining vote, as in the instance of the Socialist Labor Party, signifies nothing in itself. A declining vote may be polled by a principle that is destinied to be the foundation upon which alone the solidly towering vote-structure of the Revolution is eventually to rise.

An organization, holding so correct and, consequently, aggressive a position as that of the Socialist Labor Party, owning its own press and rejecting the scandal of "State Autonomy," cannot choose but be the object of deep plots periodically sprung against its existence. Nor can those of its members whose unterrorized steadfastness is taintable neither by blandishments, nor threats, nor yet by the lure of a place on some millionaire's pension list, choose but to draw upon themselves the poisoned arrows of defamation. It goes without saying that an organization which holds such a post of danger must be periodically convulsed by intrigues started from without, and which the intriguers themselves then seek to turn into a "proof" of the Party's "impossibilism," claiming that the law of Socialist Labor Party existence is "disturbance." Such, indeed, has been the experience of the Socialist Labor Party. It is an experience, that, coupled with the Party's approved indistructibility, so far from demonstrating the Party's unfitness, attests the fact that the Socialist Labor Party holds "the center of the stage"; that its mere existence is a rebuke under which its foes writhe. It demonstrates both the impregnable correctness of the position that the Socialist Labor Party holds, and the unstable equilibrium of the Socialist party.

As a warning and instruction one experience of the Party deserves consideration.

A man may be excused, however babyish his notion, for sincerely believing the Party's National Editor to be "Czarish" or "bossish," or "pashaish," or what not. But when we find men who within the Party, denounced the National Editor for such alleged qualities, while, as loudly, they proclaimed their loyalty to the Party, and then turning around and joining another organization—Tammany or the Democracy, sometimes; Anarchism other times; yet other times the Socialist party—all of which they all along had denounced as all that was opposed to their ideals, then the only conclusion to be arrived at is that the outcry against the National Editor is but a pretence; that what they really object to is the Party's principles, its tactics and its thorough discipline, which allows room for neither freak nor spy. The further conclusion is that such people are justly ashamed of their own motives, and dare not state them. As "patriotism" is the "last refuge of the scoundrel," backbiting, and the attempt to break down the character of those whose arguments he can not overcome, is the first refuge of the unclean spirit—the weakling or crook in the Labor Movement.

Believing that the Socialist party had accepted the decisions of the International Socialist Congress—a leading one of which was the recognition of the essential function of the economic organization in the effecting of the Revolution, and which recognition implies a behest to the militant Socialist to actively work for such economic organization, and not leave the same to the accident of blind forces,—the Socialist Labor Party offered, a year ago, unity to the Socialist party upon the principles of the International Congress. Logically enough, a National Convention, that in essence repudiated the International posture of Socialism, not only upon Immigration, but also on economic organizations, rejected the proposed unity proposition. The hopes, entertained by the Socialist Labor Party of coupling to the general agitational facilities of the Socialist party the required edcuational qualities of the Socialist Labor Party, and thereby impart completion and thus roundness to the Movement in America, having been dashed, there is nothing left but to continue the arduous task of a double struggle—the struggle against capitalism and the struggle against a political party of Socialism that is as sympathetic to capitalism as the plutocraic press proved it to be during the last year's campaign, and whose principles on Unionism fully deserve such sympathetic emotions.

Boiled down to its essence, the fundamental principle upon which the Socialist Labor Party is planted is the principle that the Social Revolution is not accomplishable unless the proletariat becomes conscious of its class interests, conscious of its historic mission, **and is organized accordingly.** To deny the fact and yet expect Socialism is vain Utopia, in conflict, moreover, with historic evolution. To ignore the fact and yet practice political Socialism is a dastardly deception practiced upon the proletariat. Socialism is fundamentally a Labor Movement. Much as the Social Revolution is of interest to the members of the other classes, as human beings and great as the help is that enlightened members of these classes can and should lend—their efforts will be vain, except for selfish and petty aggrandizement, unless the proletariat is organized economically in the battalions that will enable it to assume the reins of industrial government on the day of its political victory.

Boiled down to their essence these are the principles that leap from the election returns—principles that, without arrogance on the part of those who adhered to them before, and without rancor on the part of those who formerly and mistakenly denied them, should henceforth constitute the standard around which all should rally with whom the Cause of Socialism is not Hatred but Good Will; is not the petty satisfaction of private ambitions, or the still pettier gratification of private grudges, but the lofty, enlightened endeavor after Human Redemption. Support to the Socialist party banner, on the contrary, but prolongs the existence of and adds bulk to that body that is so justly sympathetic to the plutocracy, seeing that it retards proletarian education, and is to-day the best agency to snuff off Socialist Labor Party agitation with.

We count him happy whose lot is to contribute his efforts to help forward the banner of the Proletariat to final victory—the Socialist or Industrial Republic. In mill, in mine, on railroad, wherever workers are exploited, the Socialist Labor Party adherents, conscious of their class distinction and the obligation it imposes upon them, are manfully striving against the forces of capitalism, whose continued triumph will, through ruin, lead back to Imperialistic Barbarism.

To aid in the full-orbed constructive work that is the essential task of a political party of Socialism, and with abiding faith in the Proletariat, we urge the clear heads and sturdy hearts of the land to join the Socialist Labor Party.

XMAS BOX.

We close the Xmas Box of 1908 with the following acknowledgements:

James Sulivan, Boston, Mass. ..	5.00
P. O. Peterson, Long Island City	1.00
Total	6.00
Previously acknowledged	74.44
Grand total	$80.44

Should any of our friends, who had intended to contribute to this fund but failed to do so, still desire to help, we would suggest that they send a donation to the Operating Fund.

OPERATING FUND.

L. D. Bechtel, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.50
Mrs. S. Bast, Los Angeles, Cal.	.50
L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal.	.50
Sam Schwartzman, New York	2.00
Chas. A. Ruby, Rochester, N.Y.	1.50
G. Olson, New York	.25
A. Anderson, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Julius Hammer, New York ..	5.00
Peter Faber, Kent, Ohio	.50
Section San Antonio, Texas ..	7.50
Total	20.25
Previously acknowledged ..	3,398.97
Grand total	$3,419.22

BOSTON, MASS., ATTENTION!

A series of lectures and informal meetings will be held Sunday afternoons in Section Boston's headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, commencing SUNDAY, January 17, at 3 o'clock. Readers of The People are cordially invited to attend.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF SECTION CLEVELAND, S. L. P.

Section Cleveland, S. L. P., will hold a very important meeting SUNDAY, January 10th, 3 p. m., at headquarters, 1366 Ontario street. A new set of officers is to be elected and other business of the utmost importance to be transacted. Therefore, all hands on deck.

The Organizer.

WEEKLY PEOPLE BENEFIT IN ST. LOUIS.

Section St. Louis, Mo., of the Socialist Labor Party, will give a dance for the benefit of The People, the official organ of the Party. The dance will be held on SATURDAY evening, January 16, at 1717 South Broadway. August Gillhaus, National Organizer of the Socialist Labor Party, will make a short address.

On SUNDAY afternoon, January 17, Gillhaus will deliver a lecture at the same hall.

ROBERT ROADHOUSE.

F. Haselgrove, London, Canada, requests that Robert Roadhouse should send his name and address to him, Haselgrove.

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When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend.

IMPORTANT CALL IN CONNECTION WITH BAZAAR AND FAIR FOR SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1909.

To Individual Members, Sections and Sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party.

Comrades:—

Is it necessary to remind you that the Daily People is the greatest weapon of our movement, behind which we should put every ounce of force in our power, that we may forge its message in the minds of the working class of this country? The Socialist Labor Party of Greater New York will celebrate in annual spring festival for the benefit of the Daily People, by holding a concert and ball at Grand Central Palace on SUNDAY, February 21, 1909, the eve of Washington's Birthday.

The usual Bazaar and Fair will be held in conjunction with this affair and this is where we call upon you to do all you can in making it a big success. Whatever you may be able to produce yourself or by calling upon your wives, sisters and sweethearts who are talented with the needle or otherwise gifted in making objects for this purpose, the committee will do its best to dispose of the presents profitably for the benefit of the Daily People.

So, all together, comrades, and use your efforts in producing something yourself or call upon the women folks to exercise their talents in that direction.

All contributions and presents are to be sent to L. Abelson, 28 City Hall Place.

For the Entertainment Committee.
Section New York County, S.L.P.,
A. Orange, Secretary.

THIS ISSUE
of the
Weekly People
Containing the
ADDRESS
TO THE WORKING CLASS
by the
National Executive Committee
of the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Is a clarion note for a revival of activity along correct political and economic lines. It should be in the hands of every intelligent and honorable workingman.

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